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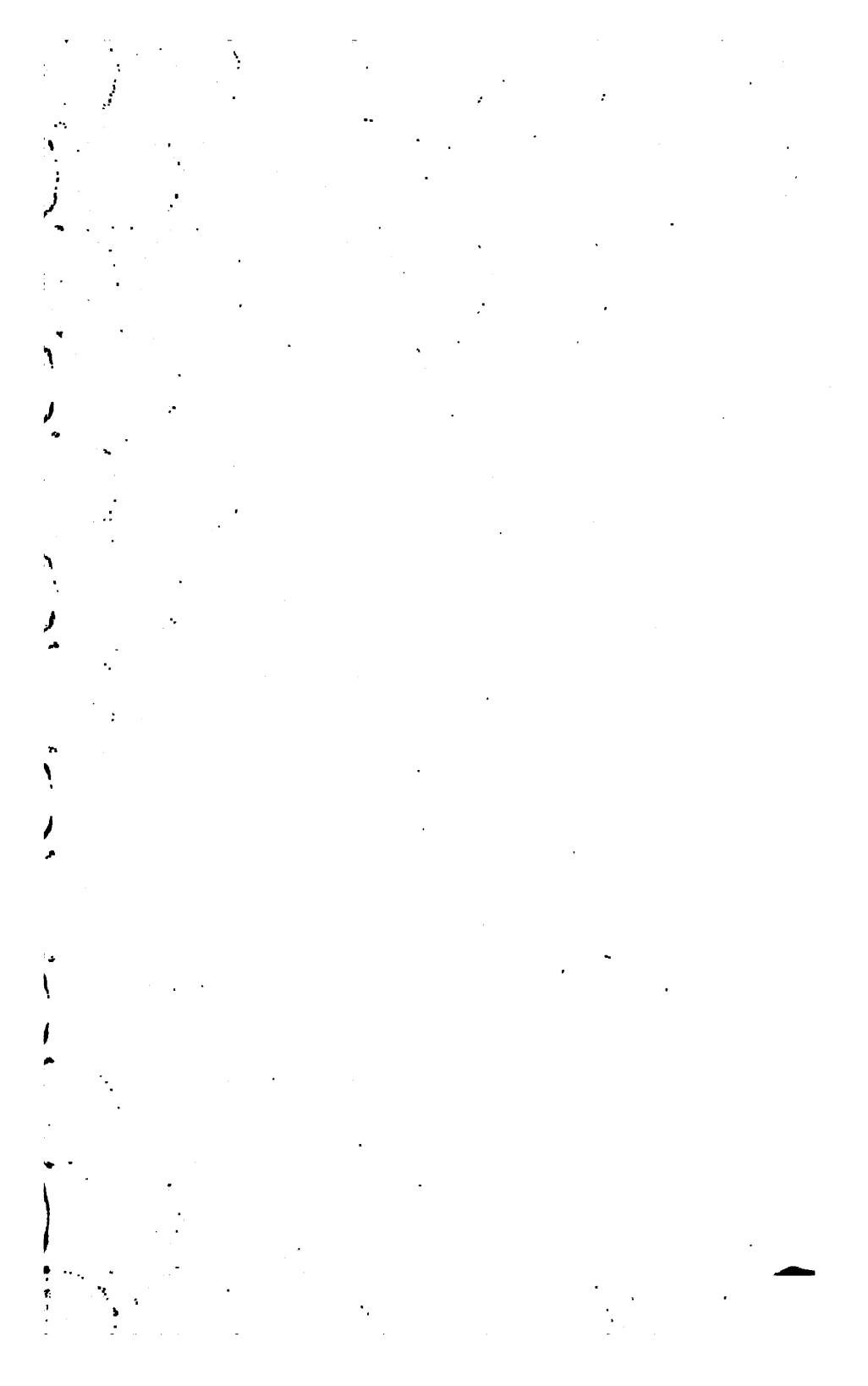
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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

E U R O P E A N S

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

L O N D O N :

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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
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BOOK X.

Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America, known by the name of the Antilles or Caribbee Islands.

THAT part of North America, which extends from the 293 to the 316 degree of longitude, contains the most numerous, extensive and rich Archipelago the ocean has yet opened to the curiosity, the industry and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the new world, by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the East, have been called the Windward Islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the winds blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain,

BOOK
X.

BOOK one end of which seems to be attached to the continent,
X. near the gulph of Maracaybo, the other, to close the
 entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps,
 with some degree of probability be considered, as the tops
 of very high mountains formerly belonging to the con-
 tinent, which have been changed into islands by some re-
 volution that has laid the flat country under water.

Whether the American islands have been detached from the continent? ALL the islands of the world seem to have been de-
 tached from the continent by subterraneous fires, or
 earthquakes.

The celebrated Atlantica, whose very name would some
 thousand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not
 been transmitted down to us by Plato, from the obscure
 tradition of Egyptian priests was, probably, a large
 tract of land situated between Africa and America. Se-
 veral circumstances render it probable that England was
 formerly a part of France: and Sicily has evidently been
 detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd islands, the
 Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries must have been part
 of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have
 been destroyed. The late observations of English navi-
 gators leave us scarce any room to doubt that all the
 islands of the South Sea, formerly composed nearly one
 whole continent. New Zealand, the largest of them,
 is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the
 marks of extinguished volcanos. Its inhabitants are nei-
 ther beardless nor copper-coloured as those of America;
 and though they are separated six hundred and twenty-
 four leagues from each other, they speak the same lan-
 guage as the natives of the island of Otaheite, discovered
 by M. De Bougainville.

INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that such changes
 have happened, of which the attentive naturalist every
 where discovers some traces still remaining. Shells of

every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels and on the surfaces of mountains; the variable-ness of the continent, subject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is constantly beaten, worn away and entirely altered: whilst at a distance, perhaps, on one side it loses immense tracts of land; on the other, discovers to us new countries, and long banks of sand surrounding those cities, that formerly were celebrated sea-ports: the horizontal and parallel position of the strata of the earth and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the same order, composed of the same materials, that are regularly cemented by the constant and successive exertion of the same cause: the correspondent similarity observable between such coasts as are separated by an arm of the sea; on one side of which may be perceived salient angles opposite to re-entering angles on the other: on the right-hand beds of the same kind of sand, or similar petrifications disposed on a level with similar strata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the sea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immense fluid hath, as it were, stamped indelible marks of its undulations: all these several circumstances attest, that the ocean has broken its natural limits, or perhaps, that these limits have never been insurmountable, and varying the face of the globe, according to the irregularity of its motions, hath alternately taken it from, and restored it to its inhabitants. Hence those successive though never universal deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it instantaneously invisible to us: for the waters acting at the same time in the cavities and on the surface of the globe, cannot possibly increase the depth

BOOK of their beds without diminishing their breadth ; or overflow, on one side, without leaving dry land on the other ; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole mass that can possibly have concealed at once all the mountains and made the sea rise above them. What a sudden transformation must have forced all the rocks and every solid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of its inmost recesses and channels all those fluids which animate it ; and thus blending its several elements together, produce a mass of waters and useless germina floating in the air ? Is it not enough that each hemisphere alternately becomes a prey to the devastations of the ocean ? Such constant shocks have doubtless so long concealed from us the new world, and, perhaps, swallowed up that continent, which, as is imagined, had been only separated from our own.

WHATEVER may be the secret causes of these particular revolutions, the general cause of which results from the known and universal laws of motion ; their effects, however, will be always sensible to every man who has the resolution and sagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly sensible in regard to the Caribbees if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent shocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordelares throw out their inflammable matter, and all Peru is shaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the East-Indies, situated nearly in the same degree of latitude, seems to be produced by the same cause ; namely, the motion of the sea from east to west : a motion impressed by that which causes the earth's revolution from west to east : more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle and in a more agitated zone : where the ocean seems, as it were willing to break through all the boundaries nature opposes to it,
and

and opening to itself a free and uninterrupted course, forms BOOK
X.
the equinoctial line.

THE direction of the Caribbees, beginning from Tobago, is nearly north and N. N. E. This direction is continued from one island to another, forming a line somewhat curved towards the north-east, and ends at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itself in a right line to the east and N. E. meets in its course with the islands of Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Islands, separated from each other by rivers of various breadths. These in some are six, in others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the soundings in all of them are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Granada and St. Vincent's there is also a small Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which sometimes the soundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbees run in the same directions as the islands themselves. The direction is so regular, that if we were to consider the tops of these mountains only independently of their bases, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the most north-easterly promontory.

THE springs of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Islands, run all in the western part of these islands. The whole eastern coast, that is to say, the coast, which, according to our conjectures, has always been sea, is without any running water. No springs come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been useless, for after having run over a very short tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the sea.

BOOK In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are
X.

a few rivers which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern side, and whose sources rise in the mountains running from east to west, that is, through the whole length of these islands. These rivers water a considerable extent of low country, which has certainly never been covered by the sea. From the other side of the mountains facing the south, where the sea, flowing with greater impetuosity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, several rivers flow into these three islands, some of which are considerable enough to receive the largest ships.

THESE observations, which seem to prove that the sea has separated the Caribbees from the continent, are further confirmed by observations of a different kind, though equally conclusive in support of this conjecture. Tobago, Margarettia, and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the continent, produce as well as the Caribbees, trees whose wood is soft, and wild cocoa. These particular species are not to be found, at least in any quantity, in the northern islands. In these, the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, situated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which perhaps it has been separated, with cedars and cypresses, equally useful for the building of ships.

Nature of
the soil of
the Carib-
bee islands.

THE soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness; under which is a bed of stone or rock. The nature of some of these soils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In those places where the clay is dryer and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moister. The sand or gravel has different properties

ties according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is ^{BOOK} less hard, less compact, and less porous, small pieces separate themselves from it; which though dry, preserve a certain degree of coolness, useful to vegetation. This soil is called in America, a pumice-stone soil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through such modifications, the soil becomes barren, as soon as the layer formed by the decomposition of the original plant, is destroyed; from the necessity there is of weeding it, which too frequently exposes its salts to the heat of the sun. Hence, in those cultures which require less weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable salts, there the fertility of the ground has been preserved.

WHEN the Europeans landed at the Caribbees, they found them covered with large trees, connected as it were to one another by a species of creeping plant; which, rising up in the same manner as the ivy, wove itself around all the branches, and concealed them from the sight. There was so great a plenty of this plant, and it grew so thick, one could not penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called Liane.

IN these forests, as old as the world itself, there were varieties of trees, that from a singular partiality of nature, were very high, exceeding straight, and without any excrescences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, the decay of their trunks, rotted away by time, formed a moist sediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occasioned a surprizing degree of vegetation in those plants that supplied the place of the trees that were rooted up.

IN whatever soil these trees grew, their roots were scarcely two feet deep, and generally much less: though they extended themselves on the surface, in proportion

BOOK
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to the weight they were to support. The excessive dryness of the ground, where the most plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are soon attracted again by the sun-beams; and the constant dews that moisten the surface, made the roots of these plants extend themselves horizontally, instead of descending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

THE trees that grew on the tops of mountains and steep places, were very hard. Their bark was smooth, and firmly fixed to the wood. The courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, the barata, iron wood, and several others, hardly yielded to the sharpest instrument: it was necessary to burn them, in order to fell and root them up. When they were on the ground, they were worked by the saw and the hatchet. The most remarkable of these trees is the acoma; which, when put into the earth, becomes petrified. The gum tree was esteemed the most useful, the trunk being five feet in circumference, and the stem from forty-five to fifty feet, served to make a canoe of one single piece.

THE vallies, which are always rendered fertile by the mountains, abounded with soft wood. At the foot of these trees grew promiscuously those plants that the liberality of the earth produced for the support of the natives of the country. The couch-couch, the yam; the Caribbee cabbage and potatoe were most generally used. These were a species of potatoes produced at the root of such plants as creep along the ground, breaking through all those impediments which seemed to render their growth impossible. Nature, which seems to have formed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provisions intended for their support, had provided the Caribbees with such vegetables as could not bear the heat
of

of the sun, flourished best in moist spots, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The islanders did not thwart the free and spontaneous operations of nature, by destroying one of her productions to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating salts, was entirely left to the mere effect of nature; nor did they pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered as chance threw in their way, or the season pointed out, such fruits as spontaneously offered themselves for their support. They had observed, that the putrefaction of the weeds was necessary to the reproduction of those plants that were most useful to them.

BOOK
X:

THE roots of these plants were never unwholesome; but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

EXCLUSIVE of the roots, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of different fruits. Some of these were much the same as our apples, cherries, and apricots; but we have nothing in our climates that can give us any idea of most of the fruits of the Caribbees. Among these, the most useful was the banana. In shape, size, and colour it resembled our cucumbers: its taste was somewhat similar to our pears: it grew in cool places, on a soft and spongy stem about seven feet high. This stem decayed as the fruit ripened; but before it fell, it shot forth a young sprig from its trunk, which a year after

BOOK after produced its fruit, perished in its turn, and was re-
 X.
 generated successively in the same manner.

ONE singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that whilst the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it was far removed from the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended with the former. Nature seemed as it were, to have prescribed to it, to respect what she had destined for the sustenance of man.

THE islanders were not so plentifully supplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purslain and cresses were the only herbs of this kind they had.

THEIR other food was confined within a very narrow compass: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were eatable, did not amount to more than five sorts; the largest of which did not exceed in size our common rabbits. The birds more pleasing to the eye, though less varied than in our climates, were valuable almost only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth those melting notes that are so captivating to the ear; most of them were extremely thin, and very insipid to the taste. Fish was nearly as plentiful as in other seas, but generally less wholesome, and less delicate.

THE plants that nature had placed in these islands, to cure the very few disorders the inhabitants were subject to, cannot be too highly commended. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions, have employed these simples, which are always green, and always in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

THE

THE generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and in the changes of vegetation, she follows the same tract as in Europe, though in a less evident manner.

THESE almost imperceptible changes, are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, that generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines. The thermometer in these places shews, that the degree of heat rises sometimes to forty-four, and even to forty-seven and a half, above the freezing point. A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the sun is never hid for four days together during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of seasons. In those places where the wind does not blow, the air is excessively hot, and none but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and refresh it: those that blow from the south and west afford little relief; but they are much less frequent, and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to its influence, are turned round towards the west, in that direction

BOOK
X.
Climate of
the islands.

BOOK direction which they seem to be thrown into, by the constant
X.
 and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger and more extended under ground towards the east, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, whose resistance may counteract the power of the ruling wind. It has been also observed, that whenever the westerly wind blows pretty strong, the trees are easily thrown down; in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered.

THE easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east.

THE easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbees is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon; and decreases as it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident. After the setting of the sun, the air from the land, that continues for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night; and continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, where the air has been condensed by the coolness of the night. It has also been observed,
 that

that the easterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog-days than at any other times of the year ; because the sun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature causes the excessive heat of the sun to contribute to the refreshment of those climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus that in fire-engines art makes the fire instrumental in supplying constantly with fresh water the copper vessels from which it is exhausted by evaporation. BOOK
X.

THE rain contributes also to the temperature of the American islands, though not equally in them all. In those places where the easterly wind meets with nothing to oppose its progress, it dispels the clouds as they begin to rise, and causes them to break either in the woods or upon the mountains. But whenever the storms are too violent, or the blowing of the easterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the southern and westerly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee islands, where this wind does not generally blow, the rains are so frequent and plentiful, especially in the winter season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of October ; that, according to the most accurate observations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the space of a year. Instead of those mild and refreshing showers which we sometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in these climates are torrents, the sound of which might be mistaken for that of hail, if this were not almost unknown under so burning a sky.

THESE showers, it must be allowed, refresh the air ; but they occasion a dampness, the effects of which are no less disagreeable than fatal. The dead must be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep sweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay,

BOOK decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their
 X. maturity. The bread must be made up in biscuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines soon turn sour; and iron grows rusty in the space of a day. The seeds can only be preserved by constant attention and care, till the proper season returns for sowing them. When the Caribbees were first discovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. A merchant conceived, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have this double advantage, of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it, therefore, to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarcely penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance, the practice of it has become general, and been considerably improved ever since. If this method does not preserve the flour, as long as in our dry or temperate climates, it may, however, be kept by it, for the space of six months, a year, or even longer, according to the degree of care that has been taken in the preparation. Such an interval is sufficient for an active and industrious mother country to supply its colonies.

Extraordi- HOWEVER troublesome these natural effects of the rain
 nary phoe- may be, it is attended yet with some more formidable :
 nomena in the islands. such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the
 islands,

islands. As they generally happen during the time, or ^{BOOK} towards the end of the rainy season, and when the tides ^{X.} are highest, ingenious naturalists have, therefore, supposed that they might be owing to these two causes.

THE waters of the sky and of the sea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in several ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreseen nor prevented. Among the various shocks to which it is constantly exposed, from this restless and boisterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbees is distinguished by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It constantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the western or southern coasts; because it takes place after the time of the westerly and southerly winds, or whilst they blow. The waves which at a distance seem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, suddenly swell against the shore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by some superior force, and break with the greatest impetuosity. The ships, which are then upon the coast, or, in the vicinity, unable either to put to sea, or keep their anchors, are dashed to pieces against the land, leaving the unhappy sailors entirely without hopes of escaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for several hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the sea has been hitherto considered as the consequence of a tempest. But a tempest follows the direction of the wind from one point of the compass to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an island that is sheltered by another, where the shock is not at all perceived. This observation has induced Mr. Dutasta, who has travelled through Africa and America, as a natural philosopher, a merchant, and a states-

BOOK a statesman, to seek for a more probable cause of this
X. singular phenomenon. He has not only discovered this point, but also several other truths that may be useful to many of the sciences, if he ever makes them public. We shall then probably acquire more certain information respecting hurricanes.

THE hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, sometimes with earthquakes; and is always attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day, which, in the torrid Zone, is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night; the appearance of a perpetual spring into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees as ancient as the world itself are torn up by the roots, and instantly disappear. The strongest and most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcases of the dead, or search among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noise of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder and of the winds, that break against the shattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiscuously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones, and ruins of buildings: all together seem to portend the last struggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether these violent concussions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain substances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not easily determined: but it has been

been observed, that this seeming and temporary confusion BOOK
X.
 was not only a consequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even dissolution itself instrumental to regeneration, but also the means of preserving the general system, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, of partial evil and of general good.

THE first inhabitants of the Caribbees imagined that they had discovered infallible prognostics of this alarming phenomenon. They observed, that when it was near at hand, the air was misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth and in the reservoirs of water, a dull sound was heard, like that arising from pent up winds. The stars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The sky, in the north-east, was overspread with dark and black clouds, that seemed very alarming. The sea sent forth a strong and disagreeable smell, and in the midst of a calm, was suddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from east to west, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all these observations cannot be ascertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas and even prejudices of savage nations on times and seasons would be a seeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philosophical inquiries. The want of employment of these people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity and put them under a necessity of observing the smallest alterations in the air, and of acquiring such informations on this point, as have escaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed and more devoted to works of a sedentary nature. Possibly we must be indebted to

BOOK savages for the discovery of effects, and to learned people
X. for the investigation of causes. Let us trace out, if possible, the cause of hurricanes, a phenomenon so frequent in America, that this alone would have been sufficient to make it be deserted, or render it uninhabitable many years ago.

No hurricanes come from the east, that is from the greatest extent of the sea at the Caribbees. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The west wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently, in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately the different bearings of the coasts of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually destroy its effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarcely felt at ten leagues distance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes
 which

which have successively subverted the islands, came from BOOK
X.
 the north-east, and consequently from the narrow passes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The distance of some islands from this direction, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting this opinion; as several other causes may contribute to divert a current of air to the south or east. We cannot help thinking therefore, that those persons have been mistaken, who have asserted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compass the wind came from. Such are the destructive phenomena nature has opposed to the acquisition of the riches of the new world: but what barrier could restrain the daring spirit of that navigator who discovered it?

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having first formed a settlement at St. Domingo, one of the greater Antilles, discovered the lesser. The islanders he had to encounter here, were not so weak and cowardly as those, he had at first subdued. The Caribbees, who thought they originally came from Guiana, and of the same nation as the Galibees, were of moderate stature, thick set, and strong, and such as seemed adapted to form men of superior strength, if their manner of life and exercises had been favourable to the natural appearances. Their legs thick and muscular, were generally well-made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable to the peculiar taste that prevailed among them. The eye-brows and the head are the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their

Customs of
the Carib-
bees, the
ancient in-
habitants
of the
windward
islands.

BOOK bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which
 X. gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

THEIR religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized ones. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace christianity when proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear, as they said, that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

THOUGH the Caribbees had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquility they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compassion, which goes before all kind of reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This kind spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios; they should be forced to attend the field of battle; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers; they
 should

should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns?

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AMONG the Caribbees, whose hearts were not spoiled by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, perjury, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, those barriers, raised to protect old customs from the encroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among these savages, before the Europeans came amongst them. When they discovered any thing missing, they observed, *that the Christians had been with them.*

THESE islanders were little acquainted with the strongest passions of the soul, not even with that of love. This passion was with them merely a sensual appetite. They never shewed the least marks of attention or tenderness for that sex, so much courted in other countries. They considered their wives rather in the light of slaves than of companions; they did not even suffer them to eat with them, and had usurped the right of divorcing them, without permitting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themselves born to obey, and submitted patiently to their fate.

IN other respects, a taste for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribbees; as they had no distinction

BOOK ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality,
X.

and were extremely surprized to find degrees of subordination among the Europeans. This system was so repugnant to their ideas, that they considered these as slaves, who had the weakness to receive the commands of a superior, and obey them. The subjection of the women among them, was a natural consequence of the weakness of the sex. But in what manner, and for what reason, the stronger men submitted themselves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor superstitition, had been able to resolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by interest, vanity, or ambition, must be very simple. Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or less consequence in proportion to the space of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of such of his descendents as were married. The columns that supported these huts, were stakes; the roofs thatched, and the whole furniture consisted of some arms, cotton beds made very plain and simple, some baskets, and utensils made of calabashes.

IN these huts the Caribbees spent the greatest part of their life, either in sleeping or smoking. When they went out, they retired into some corner, and sat upon the ground, seemingly absorbed in the most profound contemplation. Whenever they spoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any answer, but the sign of a tacit approbation.

As they ate little, they were not much troubled in providing for their sustenance. Men who live in woods, ^{BOOK} consume less than those who dwell in open countries. ^{X.} The air is more condensed, and it is probable that vegetables, by their transpiration, exhale more nutritive particles. The temperance, therefore, of the Caribbees, which at first was considered as a consequence of their indolence, might possibly be ascribed, in some degree, to that air they breathed from the transpiration of vegetables among the woods, with which their islands were covered.

In the midst of these woods, this indolent people, without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, found constantly a wholesome food, fitted to their constitution; and which required no care, or at least very little, to prepare it. If they sometimes added to these gifts of kind and simple nature, what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was seldom but upon occasion of some public feast.

THESE extraordinary festivals were held at no stated times. The guests themselves shewed no alteration in their usual characters. In these meetings they were not at all more gay or sprightly, than at other times. A spirit of indolence and listlessness appeared in their countenances. Their dances were so grave and solemn, that the motions of their bodies were expressive of the dulness of their souls. But these gloomy festivals, like those clouded skies that are the fore-runners of a tempest, were seldom concluded without bloodshed. These savages, who were so temperate when alone, grew drunk when assembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived those family dissensions that were either only stifled, or not entirely extinguished: and thus these festivals terminated in massacres. Hatred and

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revenge, the only passions that could deeply agitate the minds of these savages were perpetuated, by these convivial pleasures. In the height of these entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and swore that they would wage war upon the continent.

THE Caribbees embarked upon boats, made of a single tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been taken up in hollowing these canoes, by hatchets made of stone, or by the means of fire skillfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the most convenient form. When these free and voluntary warriors arrive on the coasts of Guiana, they go in quest of the Araucos, who formerly drove them out from thence. At their return from this military expedition, which is the more speedily brought to a conclusion, as mutual enmity renders it more cruel and spirited, the savages fell again into their former state of indolence and inactivity.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the advantage of fire arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always successful. At first they sought only for gold, and afterwards for slaves: but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribbees being so proud and sullen, that they died when made slaves: the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conquests, that they thought of little consequence, and that they could neither acquire nor preserve without constant and bloody wars.

The English and French settle on the windward islands, and destroy the Caribbees.

THE English and French being apprized of these transactions, ventured to equip a small fleet, in order to intercept the Spanish vessels which frequented these latitudes. The advantages gained, increased the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent these expeditions. The custom that prevailed

vailed among the Spaniards, of stopping all ships that failed beyond the tropic, justified such piracies.

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X.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward islands, without ever thinking of making any settlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehensive of irritating the Caribbees, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they considered, that a soil which afforded none of those productions that were of use in the old world, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, some English and French, the former headed by Warner, the latter by Desnambuc, landed at St. Christopher's on the same day, at two opposite parts of the island. The frequent losses they sustained, served to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the common enemy, unless they had some fixed residence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conquest, they amicably divided the coasts of the island, where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that *land must either be very bad, or very scarce with them, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers to seek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was sent to Brasil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered in his passage to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations, occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would

be

BOOK be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

THE French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy: they were beaten, and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter with the utmost precipitation into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, they most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribbees, the two nations, thus conquered, suspended their rivalry. The Caribbees, already suspected of forming a conspiracy in St. Christopher's, were either banished or destroyed. Their wives, their provisions, and even the land they occupied, were seized upon. A spirit of restlessness, the consequence of usurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe, that the other savage nations had entered into the conspiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their islands. In vain did those plain and inoffensive men, who had no inclination to contend for the possession of a land which they considered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as we advanced with our encroachments; they were still pursued with the same eagerness and obstinacy. As soon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the spirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, must have sometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjust.

In the earlier times, the English and the French considered the Caribbees as their common enemy; but this kind of casual association was frequently interrupted. It implied

implied not a lasting engagement, much less the becoming ^{BOOK} guarantee for their mutual possession. The savages art-
fully contrived to be at peace sometimes with one nation, and sometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This arrangement would have been but of little avail to these islanders, had not Europe, scarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whose excursions had as yet been of no use to her, and not sufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them in a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference shewn by the two mother countries to these particulars, determined their subjects of the new world, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, securing to each people those possessions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unsettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan, to which their fears induced them to accede the very same year.

By this treaty, that established tranquility in this part of America, France obtained Guadeloupe, Martinico, Granada, and some other less considerable acquisitions. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and several other islands of little value: St. Christopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribbees were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the scattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

At this period the English settlements had acquired, The
under a government; which, though not free from defect, French set-
was yet tolerable, some kind of form, and were in a ^{tle at St.} flourishing
Domingo.

B O O K flourishing state. On the contrary, the French colonies
 X, were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants,
 reduced to the deepest despair, from the necessity they
 were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive pri-
 vileges. These men, passionately attached to liberty,
 fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of
 refuge for adventurers of their own country, since they
 had been driven out of St. Christopher's, about thirty
 years ago.

THEY were called *Buccaneers*, because they imitated
 the custom of the savages, in drying the food they lived
 upon by smoke, in places called *Buccans*. As they, had
 no wives, nor children, they usually associated two in
 company, to assist one another in family duties. In
 these societies property was common, and the last sur-
 vivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown
 among them, though no precautions were taken against
 it; and what was wanting at home was freely taken from
 some of the neighbours, without any other restriction
 than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home,
 if not, of making them acquainted with it at their re-
 turn. Differences seldom happened, and when they did,
 were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were ob-
 stinate, they decided the matter by fire arms. If the
 ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as
 a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately
 put to death. The ancient laws of the country were
 disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had re-
 ceived, in passing the Tropic, they considered them-
 selves exempted from all obligation to obey them. They
 had even sunk their family name to assume others, bor-
 rowed from terms of war, most of which have been
 transmitted to their posterity.

THE dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals, they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers, dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung and some knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five and twenty or thirty dogs.

THE whole employment of the Buccaneers consisted in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. As soon as they were killed they were immediately skinned, and the pursuit was never ended, till they had knocked down as many bulls as there were huntsmen in company. Some pieces of the flesh were then prepared and seasoned only with Jamaica pepper and juice of orange. They ate no bread, and drank only water. This was their constant and daily employment, and was carried on till they had provided themselves with a sufficient number of skins to supply the vessels of the several nations that traded in those seas. These were then sent to sale in some frequented road; and carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondsmen; a set of persons who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of these wretches, presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*: And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, I say to thee: *six days thou shalt kill bulls and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides*

BOOK to the sea shore. This command was followed by blows, which sometimes enforce obedience, sometimes disobedience to the laws of God.

MEN of such a cast, habituated to constant exercises, and feeding every day on fresh meat, were little exposed to diseases. Their excursions were only suspended by a slight fever, which lasted one day, and was not felt the next. They must, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intense a heat, to enable them to support so hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reason to fear. The Spanish colony, at first so considerable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived, lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had nothing to do but to swing them in their hammocks. Confined to those wants only that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been roused from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent and from the neighbouring islands some troops who fell upon the dispersed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred. These adventurers would most probably have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity
of

of separating themselves in the day time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chase was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been shed by such ruffians, belonging to no country, and subject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and instinct; and excited to murder and massacres from being habituated to attack, and from the necessity of defending themselves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to destruction, without any distinction of sex or age. The Spaniards, at length, despairing of being able to get the better of such savage and obstinate enemies, took the resolution of destroying all the hells of the islands, by a general chase. The execution of this design having deprived the Buccaneers of their usual resources, put them under the necessity of making settlements and cultivating the land.

France, who till that time, had disclaimed for her subjects these ruffians, whose successes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as soon as they formed themselves into settlements. In 1665, she sent them over an honest and sensible man to govern them. He took with him several women, who, like most of those who have at different periods been sent into the new world, were noted for their vices and licentiousness. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners. *I do not desire you to give me an account of your past conduct,* was the speech each of them made to the woman that chance had allotted him. *You did not then belong to me. Give me your word, for the future, as you are now mine; I acquit you of what is past.* Then, striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added:
This

BOOK *This will revenge me of your breach of faith; if you are*
X. *false, this will certainly be true to my aim.*

The Eng-
lish con-
quer Ja-
maica.

The English had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm settlement in the great Antilles to procure themselves an establishment there. The declining state of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal divisions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotion of Naples, by the destruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtiness: all these circumstances, tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skilfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned, and Cromwel, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoil of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprize, which violated all the principles of equity, and that by concurring to put it into execution, they would be guilty of the greatest crime. The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit, which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps, the multitude, who are little able to estimate the

the strength of princes, to weigh the variations in the ^{BOOK} balance of power, were not yet recovered from their an- ^{X.}cient prejudices. An universal panic had seized on the minds of those able men who attentively studied the general progress of affairs. They were sensible that if the rapid and extraordinary successes of France were not checked by some foreign power, she would entirely spoil the Spaniards, impose on them what laws she pleased, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the 14th, secure to herself the inheritance of Charles the 5th, and oppress the liberty of Europe, that she had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately subverted the government of his country, seemed a fit person to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakest of politicians, when he was observed to form connections which his own private interests, those of his country, as well as those of Europe in general, ought absolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

THESE observations could not possibly escape the deep and penetrating genius of the usurper. But, perhaps, he was desirous of preserving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by some signal and advantageous conquest. If he had declared himself on the side of Spain, the execution of his project must have been chimerical; as the most he could possibly expect was to restore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his designs to begin by forming a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himself master of those possessions that were the objects of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, which, however, may be supported from the evidence of history, and are, at least, consistent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is supposed to have adopted

BOOKS such a method of reasoning; the English went into the
 X. new world to attack an enemy they had just brought upon themselves.

THESE first attempts were directed against the town of St. Domingo, whose inhabitants retired into the woods for shelter, as soon as they saw a large fleet of ships commanded by Penn, and nine thousand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors they perceived their enemies fall into, inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimark with disgrace. This misfortune was the consequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

THE two commanders of this enterprize, were men of very moderate abilities. They were at variance with each other, and ill affected to the protector. Inspectors of their conduct were, however, appointed; who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe, were the very refuse of the army; and those that were taken from Barbadoes and St. Christopher's, were common robbers. They were not allured by the hopes of plunder, the only encouragement that can work upon men of this cast; an encouragement too, which the experience of all ages has found to be the most effectual spur to insure success in distant and dangerous enterprizes. Things were so circumstanced, that the soldiers could not be upon good terms with their officers, nor the officers with one another, nor the commissaries with either. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and necessary instructions for the management of the whole, were all wanting.

THE execution of this attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been

been effected without danger, even in the port itself, was **BOOK**
 conducted without a guide at forty miles distance. The **X.**
 troops wandered about for four days, without water or
 provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the cli-
 mate, and disheartened by the misunderstanding of their
 officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards
 for victory. They scarce thought themselves in safety
 when they had got back to their ships.

BUT ill success contributed to reconcile the contend-
 ing parties, that were highly exasperated with each other.
 The English, who could not brook the thought of sub-
 jection and humiliation, reclaimed by the very faults they
 had committed, and called back to a love of their coun-
 try, to a sense of duty, and a thirst for glory, failed for
 Jamaica; under a fixed resolution, either to perish there
 or to make the conquest of it.

THE inhabitants of this island, subject to Spain since
 the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at
 St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy
 sailing in their latitudes. The English therefore landed
 without opposition. They were marching boldly to lay
 siege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony,
 when the governor gave a check to the spirit which seemed
 to animate them, by offering them terms of capitulation.
 The discussion of the several articles, artfully prolonged,
 gave the colonists time to remove their most valuable effects
 into secret places. They fled for shelter to inaccessible
 mountains, leaving only to the conquerors, a city with-
 out inhabitants, moveables, treasures, or provisions.

THESE artifices exasperated the besieged to the highest
 degree. They sent out detachments on every side,
 with express orders to destroy every thing they met
 with. The anxiety they felt on finding these parties re-
 turn, without having been able to make any discoveries;

BOOK the want of every convenience more sensibly felt by this
 { **X.** nation than any other; the mortality which increased among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the new world: all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for returning to England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almost resolved upon, would have soon exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered pasture land, where the Spaniards had conveyed their numerous flocks. So unexpected an instance of good fortune, occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

THE spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not be safe either in the forests or precipices, where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved; and they were sent back again: but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame, than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected from the smallness of the succours they had received. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were reduced to the greatest

The Buccaneers ravage the American seas. Origin, manners, expeditions and declension of these pirates.

extremities; and from that time it has been one of the most valuable possessions of Great-Britain in the new world.

BEFORE the English had made any settlements at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by

by the name of Buccaneers, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga; and fortifying themselves there, had with an amazing intrepidity, made excursions against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was their only armament. Here they were exposed night and day to all the inclemencies of the weather, without having scarce room enough to lay down. A love of independence, the greatest blessing of those who are not proprietors of land, rendering them averse from those mutual restraints imposed by society for the common good; they paid therefore no regard to these, and some sang, whilst others were desirous of going to sleep. As the authority they had conferred upon their captain, was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived therefore in the greatest confusion. Resembling the savages, without any apprehension of wanting, and without any attention to preserve the necessaries of life, they were constantly exposed to the severest extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their very distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a ship transported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their custom to board the ship as soon as possible. The smallness of their vessels, and the skill they shewed in the management of them, screened them from the fire of the greater ships; and they presented only the fore part of their little vessels filled with fusileers, who fired at the port holes with so much exactness, that it entirely confounded the most experienced gunners. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the largest ship seldom escaped them.

In cases of extreme necessity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times.

BOOK

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They thought, that the cruelties they had exercised on the inhabitants of the new world, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn against them. But this was heightened by a personal pique, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such were their principles of justice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to heaven for the success of it; and they never returned from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

THE ships that sailed from Europe into America, seldom tempted their avidity: the merchandize they contained, would not have been easily sold, nor been very profitable to these barbarians in those early times. They always waited for them on their return, when they were certain, that they were laden with gold, silver, jewels, and all the valuable productions of the new world. If they met with a single ship, they never failed to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed them, till they sailed out of the gulph of Bahama; and as soon as any one of the ships was separated by accident from the rest, it was taken. The Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediately surrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo were a rich one, if not, all the prisoners were thrown into the sea.

PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men on any one of his vessels: with this small number he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having first given orders to sink his own vessel; and the crew were so surprized and intimidated, by this daring instance of bravery, that they made no resistance. He went immediately to the captain's cabin, who was then engaged

engaged at play with his friend, and having presented a ^{BOOK} pistol to his throat, compelled him to surrender. This ^{X.} commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the nearest cape, as an useless burthen to the ship, they had so ill defended, and reserved only a sufficient number of sailors to work her.

FIFTY-FIVE Buccaneers who had sailed into the southern sea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern sea they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind, and in a canoe. They arrived at the straits of Magellan, when disappointed and chagrined at having made no plunder in so rich a country, they took the resolution to steer again their course towards Peru. They had intelligence given them, that there was in the port of Auca, a ship whose cargo was valued at several millions: they took it, and immediately embarked upon it.

MICHAEL de BASCO, Jonqué and Lawrence le Graff were cruising before Carthagena with three small vessels: when two men of war sailed out of the harbour with orders to attack these Buccaneers, and to bring them alive or dead. The pirates had no sooner perceived them, but they began the engagement and took them. Those who were not killed in the action were set on shore with a letter of thanks to the governor, for having sent two such good ships; at the same time acquainting him, that if he had still any to spare, they would wait for them a fortnight; but if they had no money on board, the men were not to expect any quarter.

THE captains Michael and Brouage, having received intelligence that, in order to elude their vigilance, a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Carthagena in vessels carrying a foreign flag; fell upon the two Dutch ships, that were loaded with this treasure, and plundered

BOOK

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them. The Dutch, exasperated at their being beat by ships so inferior to theirs in strength and size, dared to tell Michael de Baico openly, that if he had been alone, he would not have been so successful. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the captain, with haughtiness, and *my companion shall only be spectator of the engagement. If I am the conqueror, I will not only have the silver you carry on board, but both your ships shall also be mine.* The Dutch, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, fearing, that if they took any time to consider of it, they would not have the liberty of refusing.

Captain Lawrence was unexpectedly overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men. *You have*, said he, addressing himself to his companions, *too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it: On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight that we may escape them.*

AFTER this speech, that was received with general applause, the captain called to him the bravest of the Buccaneers, and, in the presence of the rest, ordered him to set fire to the gun-powder, on the first signal he should give him; evidencing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or defend themselves. He then ranged his men on both sides of his vessel, and raising his voice, in order to be more distinctly heard by every one, and extending his hand toward the enemy: *We must*, says he, *pass between their ships, and fire upon them from every side.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and dispatch. The galleons, however, were not taken;

taken ; but the ships company were so reduced in number, BOOK
X. that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue to combat against a handful of resolute men, who, even in their retreat, had carried away the honour of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and cowardice had stamped upon his country. In every engagement the Buccaneers shewed the same spirit of intrepidity.

WHEN they had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil ; but afterwards the French among them went to St. Domingo, and the English to Jamaica. Each person holding up his hand solemnly protested that he had secreted nothing of what he had taken. If any among them were convicted of perjury, a case that seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered itself, upon some desert island, as a traitor unworthy to live in society. Such brave men among them as had been maimed, in any of their expeditions, were first provided for. If they had lost a hand, an arm, a leg, or a foot, they received two hundred crowns. An eye, a finger, or a toe, lost in fight, was valued only at half the above sum. The wounded were allowed a crown a day, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to answer these several demands, the whole company were obliged to engage in some fresh expedition, and to continue it till they had acquired a sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

AFTER this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided into as many shares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a single share as the rest ; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted him-

BOOK himself to their satisfaction. When the vessel was not

X.

the property of the whole company, the person who had fitted it out and furnished it with necessary arms and ammunition, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was determined by lot. Instances of such rigid justice as this, are not easily met with: and they extended even to the dead. Their share was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive, and therefore their heir. If the person, who had been killed, had no intimate, his part was sent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the person, in whose name these benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary piratical plunders.

WHEN these duties had been complied with, they then indulged themselves in all kinds of profusion. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopped only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of clothes or provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If they were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty; they made this very ingenuous reply; "Exposed as we are, to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? we reckon only the day we have lived, but never think upon

“ upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to **BOOK**
 “ squander life away than to preserve it.” **X**

THE Spanish colonies flattering themselves with the hopes of seeing an end of their miseries; and reduced almost to despair in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themselves almost into so many distinct and separate states. They were sensible of the inconveniences arising from such a conduct, and avowed them, but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and savage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, interest and policy. This was the rise of that spirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS dependency served only to increase the boldness of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared in the Spanish Settlements, in order to carry off some necessaries of life, when they were in want of them. They no sooner found their captures begin to diminish, than they determined to recover by land what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than sail in the latitudes to which they belonged.

AMONG the Buccaneers, who signalized themselves in this new species of excursions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the conquest of the new world, he conceived an aversion that he carried to a degree of frenzy against that nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told
 of

BOOK of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a
{ **X.** play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the person who personated the Spaniard, with so much fury, that he would have strangled him, had he not been rescued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of people massacred by savage monsters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irresistible ardour to revenge so much innocent blood. The enthusiasm which the spirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel even than that of religious fanaticism, to which so many human victims had been sacrificed. The manes of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard some account of the Buccaneers, who were said to be the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish name: he therefore embarked on board a ship in order to join them.

IN the passage they met with a Spanish vessel, attacked it, and as it was usual in those times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, leaving to his companions the happiness of dividing so rich a booty, he contented himself with the savage pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, against whom he had sworn a constant and deadly hatred.

FRESH opportunities soon occurred, that enabled him to exert this spirit of revenge, without extinguishing it. The ship he was in arrived at the coast of St. Domingo; where the Buccaneers on land immediately applied to barter some provisions for brandy. As the articles they offered

offered were of little value, they alledged in excuse, that BOOK
X.
 their enemies had over-run the country, laid waste their settlements, and carried off all they could. "Why, replied Montbar, do you tamely suffer such insults?" "Neither do we, answered they in the same tone; the Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time when we were engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been still more ill-treated than we, and then we shall have warm work." "If you approve it, answered Montbar, I will head you; not as your commander, but as the foremost in exposing myself to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was such a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Scarce one Spaniard escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally distinguished as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by land and at sea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His savage dispositions, as well as that of the other Buccaneers, who followed his example, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themselves within their settlements, these free-booters resolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war, required superior forces, and their associations in consequence became more numerous. The first that was considerable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the sands of Olone. From the abject state of a bondsman, he had gradually raised himself to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With these he was so successful, as to take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. A
 slave

BOOK X.
 Having observed that after the engagement, all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing lest he should share the same fate, wanted to save himself by a declaration equally perfidious, but very consistent with the part he had been destined to take. He assured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to serve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had sentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the least but that they would all be taken prisoners. The savage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, sucking, at each stroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his sabre. He then repaired to the Port-Du-Prince, in which were four ships, fitted out purposely to sail in pursuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crew into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands; not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize ships aground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

HERE he met with Michael de Basco, who had so much distinguished himself for having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spanish ship, whose cargo was estimated at (a) five millions of livres, and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they were going to embark together on an expedition equally glorious and profitable; in consequence of which, they soon collected together four hundred and forty

forty men. This body of men, the most numerous the BOOK
X.
Buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence, was taken; the cannon nailed up, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to death. They then reembarked, came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the river of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become flourishing and rich by its trade of skins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deserted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other side of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not lost a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had secreted, to secure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the useless satisfaction of making themselves masters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at a distance the most valuable part of their property. Exasperated at this disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Besides the sum they received for its ransom, they also carried off with them, all the crosses, pictures, and bells of the churches; intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate this part of their spoils to sacred purposes. Such was the religion of these barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which arose from their robberies and plunder.

WHILST they were idly dissipating the spoils they had made on the coast of Venezuela, Morgan, the most renowned of the English Buccaneers, sailed from Jamaica to

BOOK to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operation was so well
 X. contrived, that he surprized the city, and took it without opposition. In order to secure the fort with the same facility, he made the women and the priests fix the scaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction, that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards, would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered as the objects of their greatest love and reverence. But the garrison were not to be deceived by this artifice, and the victory was obtained only by superior courage and strength; the treasures that were carried away from this famous fort, were acquired at the expence of much bloodshed.

THE conquest of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To secure this, Morgan thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of Costa-Ricca, to procure some guides in the island of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have held out for ten years against a considerable army. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on the first appearance of the pirates, sent privately to concert measures how he might surrender himself without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The result of this consultation was, that Morgan, in the night time, should attack a fort at some distance, and the governor should sally out of the citadel to defend a post of so much consequence; that the assailant should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a smart firing should be kept up on both sides, without doing mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally

ally demolished the fortifications, and put on board their vessels a prodigious quantity of warlike ammunitions, which they found at St. Catherine's, steered their course towards the river Chagre, a place of so much consequence, that it seemed the only one that could insure them success equal to their highest expectations. BOOK
X.

At the entrance of this considerable river, a fort was built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The Buccaneers, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the besiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

Morgan left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the rivers in his sloops for forty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where the river ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, that was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

Here were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests they also found several rich deposits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were making

BOOK excursions into the country, little satisfied with this
X. booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their masters riches. A beggar accidentally going into a castle, that had been deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate wretch shewed them the ragged clothes he had just thrown off. He was instantly tortured, but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasures the Spaniards had acquired in the new world by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner.

IN the midst of such scenes of horror, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved therefore to subdue by force the Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness out of his arms. *Stop. Thinkest thou then, that thou canst ravish my honour from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured, that I can die and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out a poignard from under her gown, which she would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, still inflamed with a passion, that this determined resistance had turned into madness, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to subdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immoveably determined, excited, at the same time that she resisted the
frantic

frantic behaviour of Morgan; till at last the pirates, expressing their resentment, at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then sailed away with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

BEFORE the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, whilst the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, set sail for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city that served as the staple of commerce between the old and new world. This instance of treachery, unheard of before, occasioned a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, where they made several expeditions. But they were trifling, till in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greatest consequence.

THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him allow the least signs of cowardice among those who associated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrunk at the sudden report of a pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared

BOOK
X. with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by so truly warlike a disposition. When he went upon these expeditions, he generally sailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz.

THE darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in short, that could cause any resistance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gun-powder, to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection.

WHILST the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties for (b) ten millions of livres. These unfortunate men, who had neither eat nor drank for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day: the other half was expected from the internal parts of the country; when there appeared on an eminence a considerable

considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a **BOOK**
 fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At this armament **X.**
 the Buccaneers, without any marks of surprize, retreated
 quietly, with fifteen hundred slaves they carried off with
 them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the mo-
 ney they expected, the payment of which they referred
 to a more favourable opportunity. These ruffians faith-
 fully believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by
 force of arms, upon the coasts where they made a de-
 scent, was their lawful property ; and that God and their
 arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capi-
 tal of those contributions they compelled the inhabitants
 to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the in-
 terest of that part of the sum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They
 boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, that
 let them pass without firing a single gun ; and were, in
 fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The
 Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and
 with no other inconvenience, but what arose from their
 fears, if the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with
 silver, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted with any
 other effects but such merchandise as were little valued
 by these pirates.

A year had scarce elapsed since their return from
 Mexico, when on a sudden they were all seized with the
 rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. It is pro-
 bable, that the hope of finding greater treasures upon a
 sea little frequented, than on one long exposed to pi-
 racies of this kind, was the cause of this expedition. But
 this is a circumstance very remarkable, that both the
 French and English, and the particular associations of
 these two nations, had projected this plan at the same
 time, without any communication, intercourse, or de-
 sign

BOOK sign of acting in concert with each other. About four
 X. thousand men were employed in this expedition. Some
 of them came by Terra-Firma, others by the streights of
 Magellan, to the place that was the destined object of
 their wishes. If the intrepidity of these barbarians had
 been directed, under the influence of a skilful and respect-
 able commander, to one single uniform end, the Spaniards
 would probably have lost this important colony. But
 their natural character was an invincible obstacle to so
 rare an union ; for they always formed themselves into
 several distinct and separate bodies, sometimes even so
 few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together or
 asunder as the most trifling caprice directed. Grogner,
 Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the most distinguished
 officers among the French : David, Samms, Peter, Wil-
 ner, and Towney, among the English.

SUCH of those adventurers as had got into the South
 Sea by the streights of Darien, took up with the first ves-
 sels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who
 had failed in their own vessels, were not much better pro-
 vided. Weak however as they were, they beat several
 times the squadrons that were fitted out against them. But
 these victories were hurtful to them, as they interrupted
 their navigation. When there were no more ships to be
 taken, they were continually obliged to make descents
 upon the coasts to get provisions ; or to go by land in or-
 der to plunder those cities where the booty was secured.
 They successively attacked Seppa, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon,
 Reclejo, Puebla-Viejo, Chiriquita, Leparso, Granada,
 Villia, Nicoya, Tecoanteca, Mucmeluna, Chiloteca,
 New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most considerable of
 all these places.

MANY of them were taken by surprize, and most of
 them deserted by their inhabitants, who fled at the sight
 of

of the enemy ; taking, however, the precaution of carrying off with them their most valuable effects. The Spaniards never ventured to defend themselves, unless they were at least twenty in number against one, and even then they were beaten. They were so much degenerated, that they had lost all ideas of the art of war, and were even unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. They were even more ignorant and cowardly than the Americans, whose ashes they trampled upon. This want of courage had increased from the terror the name of a Buccaneer inspired them with. The monks had drawn them in the same colours in which they represented devils, as anthropophagi, beings who had not even the appearance of humanity ; a species of monkies, more mischievous than men. Such a picture, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind aversion and terror. As the Spaniards always fled at the approach of these monsters in human shape, they knew of no other method of revenging themselves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As soon as these adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, his body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practised upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated ; the very walls and soil of the places that had been laid waste, were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

THIS rage, equally impotent and childish, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum,

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proportioned to its value, was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were inhumanly massacred, if they were not ransomed by the governor or some of the inhabitants: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troublesome to them. The chances of fortune, that seldom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for its suffering, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the new world, and the Indians were amply revenged of the Spaniards.

BUT it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that those who committed such outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress, or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the straits of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the continent by the Northern sea, fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

WHILST such piracies were committed on the southern ocean, the northern was threatened with the same danger by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had distinguished himself in a military capacity in Europe; but his passion for wine, gaming and women, had obliged him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were sufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous and eloquent: he was endued with a sound judgment, and was a person
of

of approved valour, which soon made him be considered **BOOK**
 as the chief of the French Buccaneers. As soon as it was **X.**
 known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately
 joined by a thousand brave men! The governor of St.
 Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his master
 to approve of the project, equally wise and just, of fixing
 the pirates to some place, and inducing them to become
 cultivators, was desirous of preventing the concerted ex-
 pedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont,
 who had a greater share of sense than his associates, was
 not on that account more inclined to comply, and sternly
 replied: *How can Lewis disapprove of a design he is unac-*
quainted with, and which has been planned only a few days
ago? This answer highly pleased all the Buccaneers, who
 directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

They landed without opposition. But at some distance
 from the coast, they were attacked by eight hundred
 Spaniards, who were beaten and pursued to the town;
 where both parties entered at the same time. The can-
 non they found there was immediately levelled against the
 citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving
 some stratagem to enable them to become masters of the
 place; when intelligence was brought that it was aban-
 doned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Eng-
 lishman, and an officer of such signal courage, that he
 chose rather to expose himself to the greatest extremities,
 than basely to flee from the place with the rest. The com-
 mander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of
 distinction, generously released him, gave him up all his
 effects, and besides complimented him with some valuable
 presents: such an influence have courage and fidelity on
 the minds of those, who seem to violate all the rights of
 society.

The

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The conquerors of Campeachy spent two months in searching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preserved. When all the treasure they had collected from every quarter was deposited in the ships, a proposal was made to the governor of the province, who still kept the field, with nine hundred men, to ransom his capital city. His refusal determined them to burn it, and demolish the citadel. The French, on the festival of St. Louis, were desirous of celebrating the anniversary of their king. In the transports of their patriotism, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million of logwood; a part, and a very considerable one too, of the spoil they had made. After this singular and extravagant instance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boast, they returned to St. Domingo.

THE little advantage which the English and French Buccaneers had made by their last expeditions upon the continent, had insensibly led them to have recourse to their usual piratical expeditions upon the sea. Both were employed in attacking the ships they met with; when a particular train of circumstances again engaged the French into that course of life, which every thing had rendered them dissatisfied with. The powerful influence that the words glory, country and gold carry with them, determined twelve hundred of them to join a squadron of seven ships, that sailed from Europe in 1697, under the command of Pointis, to attack the famous city of Carthage. This was the most difficult enterprize that could be attempted in the new world. The situation of the port, the strength of the place, the badness of the climate, were so many obstacles that seemed insurmountable to any but men of such dispositions as

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the Buccaneers were. All nations concurred in conferring BOOK
X. on them the glory they had acquired by their success; but they were basely deprived of the advantages resulting from it. The rapacity of the commander, who had sent off a part of the booty, estimated at forty millions (c), scrupled not, as soon as they set sail, to offer forty (d) thousand crowns for the share of those who had been the chief instrument in procuring him so considerable a spoil.

THE Buccaneers, exasperated at this treatment, resolved immediately to board the skiff, called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships, to expect to be assisted by them. This avaricious commander was upon the point of being massacred, when one of the male-contents cried out: *Brethren, why should we attack this rascal? he has carried off nothing that belongs to us. He has left our share at Carthage, and there we must go to recover it.* This proposal was received with general applause. A savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy melancholy that had seized them, and without further deliberation, all their ships sailed towards the city.

As soon as they had entered the city, without meeting with any resistance, they shut up all the men in the great church and spoke to them in the following words: "We are sensible that you consider us as men void of faith and of all religion, as devils rather than men. The opprobrious language you affect to make use of when you speak of us, and the refusal you have made to treat with us of the surrender of your city, are evident indications of the sentiments you entertain of us. You see us here armed, and capable of avenging ourselves. The paleness visible upon your countenances,

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(c) 1,750,000l.

(d) 5,250l.

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“ convinces us that you expect the most severe punishments, and your conscience testifies that you deserve them. We shall soon undeceive you, and convince you that we do not deserve the scandalous appellations you load us with; but that they belong rather to the general under whose command we have lately fought. The traitor has deceived us. Though he owes the conquest of this city to our valour, he yet refuses to share the spoils of it with us, and by this instance of injustice has compelled us to return to you again. We do it with regret, and the moderation we shall shew will be a proof of it. We pledge our faith to you, that we will immediately return as soon as you have paid us five millions of livres; (e) this is the utmost of our claim. But if you refuse us so equitable a demand, the greatest distresses await you, the cause of which you can only ascribe to yourselves, and the infamous Pointis, whom, if you please, you may load with all kinds of execrations.”

AFTER this discourse the most venerable priest in the city mounted the pulpit, and made use of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to persuade his hearers to yield up without reserve all the gold, silver, and jewels they had. The collection, which was made after the sermon, not furnishing the sum demanded, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houses they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but not with that success they expected, and they concluded by torturing the principal inhabitants.

Two of the citizens of the greatest distinction were seized, and separately questioned where the public money and that of the individuals was deposited. They declared

clared they knew nothing of the matter ; but their answer was accompanied with so much simplicity as well as BOOK
X. firmness, that the pirates would not make use of any severities against them. It was, however, agreed, that they should apparently be killed, by discharging several shots at them. Two other citizens were then called ; whose behaviour was similar to that of the former, and the same ceremony was practised upon them. It was publicly given out that all the four had been killed, and that all those who should persist in the same obstinate silence, should be treated in the same manner. This proclamation proved extremely successful : for above a million (*f*) was brought in the very same day ; and some further contributions were made some days after. The adventurers, at length, despairing to add any thing to to what they had already amassed, set sail. Unfortunately they met with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain. Several of the pirates were either taken or sunk, with all the cargo they had on board their ships ; the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

SUCH was the last memorable event in the history of the Buccaneers. The separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations : the successful means they both made use of, to promote the cultivation of land among their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprising men, and the prudence they shewed in fixing the most distinguished among them and intrusting them with civil and military employments : the protection they were both under a necessity of affording to the Spanish settlements, which till then had been a general object of plunder : all these circumstances, and various others, besides the

BOOK the impossibility there was of supplying the place of
X. these remarkable men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to a society, as extraordinary as ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of that age in which they lived, as they will be also of posterity. They would have conquered all America, if conquest and not piracy had been the motive of their actions.

ENGLAND, France, and Spain, sent at different times considerable fleets into the new world. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what that afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their authority, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables it to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the strongest combinations of strength, the best regulated governments, the most honourable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to produce.

THE principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men, is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men
of

of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? **BOOK**
 But would they then have squandered away in a day the **X.**
 spoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country; they did not therefore sacrifice themselves for its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. A spirit of indolence and ease never made men rush into constant fatigues, and submit to the greatest possible dangers.

WHAT then were the moral reasons that gave rise to so singular a society as that of the Buccaneers? That country where nature seems to have obtained a perpetual and absolute power over the most turbulent passions; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occasioned by public festivals, was necessary to rouse men from a habitual state of lethargy; where they lived satisfied with their tedious and indolent course of life: that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who from the scorching heat of their atmosphere, seem to have carried their sentiments to the greatest excess, and their passions to a degree of frenzy. Whilst the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the new world; whilst the Spaniards, who were so restless and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with the conquered Americans, a life habituated to ease and melancholy; a set of men, who had come out of the most temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

If we are desirous of finding out the origin of this revolution, we may perceive that it arises from the Buccaneers having lived under the shackles of European governments. The spirit of liberty being repressed for so many

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many ages, exerted its power to a degree almost inconceivable, and occasioned the most terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral world. Restless and enthusiastic men of every nation joined themselves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard of the success they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and desire excited by distant objects, the want of a change in situation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulse which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which easily induces men to imitation, the necessity of getting the better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have freely associated together; in a word, the temporary ferment the elements, combined with fortune, had raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress; at one time stained with blood and rapine, at another plunged into voluptuousness, rendered the Buccaneers a people wholly distinct in history; but a people whose duration was so transient, that its glory lasted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve; as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness, and generosity, they shewed to one another, did not prevent them from committing such actions as are a disgrace to humanity. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be struck with a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

SOME Buccaneers had agreed for a certain sum to guard a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured

ventured to propose to his companions to enrich them-
 selves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. BOOK
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 The famous Montauban, who was the commander of the
 troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired
 to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What
 replied these brave men, would you then leave us? Is there
 any one who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A
 council was immediately held; and it was determined,
 that the guilty person should be thrown upon the first
 coast they came to. They took an oath, that no dishonest
 man should never be admitted in any expedition in which
 any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they
 would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection.
 If this is not to be looked upon as an instance of heroism,
 must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in
 which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under
 the idea of enthusiasm?

AMERICA had scarcely recovered from the ravages she
 had sustained: she had scarce begun to be sensible of the
 advantages she derived from the industry of the Buccaneers,
 who were now become citizens and husbandmen; when
 the old world exhibited the scene of such a revolution, as
 alarmed and terrified the new. Charles the second, king
 of Spain, had just ended his life of trouble and anxiety.
 His subjects, persuaded that a descendent of the house of
 Bourbon, was only fit to preserve the monarchy entire,
 had urged him towards the close of his life, to appoint
 the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea of hav-
 ing the government of two and twenty kingdoms de-
 volve to a family that was not only his rival, but his
 enemy, had filled him with the most gloomy apprehen-
 sions. But after several internal struggles, and number-
 less marks of irresolution, he at last prevailed upon him-
 self to shew an example of justice, and greatness of soul,

BOOK which the natural weakness of his character gave little
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 reason to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out for half a century, with the haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny, of Lewis the XIVth, exerted its combined forces to prevent the increase of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad administration, had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the spirit of superstition, and consequently of weakness, that prevailed then in France, had procured such advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled from the union of several powers against a single one. This league gained an influence, that was increased by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were soon left without strength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a sense of compassion at the miseries they experienced.

ENGLAND and Holland, after having profusely lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the Emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their own interests in America. This country invited them to rich as well as easy conquests. Spain, since the destruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ships; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her to the lowest ebb, had neglected her marine. This bad management was owing to a distant cause.

LEWIS the XIVth was, in his earlier age, ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, and consequently imagined, that without a navy, the splendor of his reign would in some degree be diminished. It is more than probable, that he considered his fleet as one of the means that would tend to fill all nations with admiration, to punish the Genoese and Algerines, and convey the terror
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of his name to the extremities of the globe. Had he, in BOOK
X. that plan of greatness he was desirous of acquiring to himself, considered a naval power as a part of it, he would have imitated Cromwell, and encouraged navigation, which supports a marine by commerce. False ideas of things misled him in this particular. In proportion as the restlessness of his temper excited him fresh enemies, and that he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay; that the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and that his forts were more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to establish his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings that were either useless or too magnificent, objects of ostentation or of mere pleasure, and various other causes, equally trifling, drained the money that ought to have been employed in supporting his navy. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

At this period the acquisitions the Spanish and French had made in the West-Indies, were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great-Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, had given them, indeed, an exclusive possession of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but these nations, intoxicated as they were with gold and bloodshed, had never so much as suspected that their possessions

BOOK in the new world could support their power in the old.
X.

The English and Dutch went into the contrary extreme, building their opinions upon the system of the influence they supposed America must necessarily give to Europe. A system which they not only misapplied, but carried to excess.

THESE two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable ones, had from the earliest period hit upon the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate, and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizing of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Ann at length availing herself of a favourable opportunity, for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time England became of the greatest importance

tance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was ^{BOOK} totally disregarded. _{X.}

THE years succeeding the peace of Utrecht, revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquility, if the Europeans did not disturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harvest of the husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to shew his flag in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them, to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious minister. Nations did not then unite to gratify the passions of their sovereigns. For some time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at least, as the pride of princes and the avidity of the people would allow.

THOUGH this general happiness was to be attributed to those who held the reins of government, yet the general improvements of reason contributed, in some degree, to produce it. Philosophy then began to lay open and recommend the sentiments of benevolence. The writings of some philosophers had been made public or dispersed among the people, and contributed to polish and refine their manners. This spirit of moderation had inspired men with the love of the more useful and pleasing arts of life, and abated, at least, the desire they till then had of destroying one another. The thirst of blood seemed to be assuaged, and all nations, with the assistance of the discoveries they had made, ardently set about the improvement of their population, agriculture and manufactures.

THIS spirit of activity exerted itself principally in the Caribbees. The states upon the continent can subsist,

BOOK and even flourish, when the rage of war is kindled in their
 X. neighbourhood and on their frontiers; because the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their subsistence and internal consumptions. The case is very different with regard to those settlements that different nations have formed in the great Archipelago of America. In these, life and property are equally precarious. None of the necessities of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel and the instruments of husbandry are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an easy and safe communication with Africa, with the northern coasts of the new world, but principally with Europe, can procure these islands that free circulation of the necessities of life they receive, and of those superfluities they give in exchange for them. The more the colonists had suffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion, that had thrown every thing into confusion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakness would insure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most cautious merchants to supply the colonists with goods in advance; a circumstance that contributed greatly to quicken the progress they made, which, notwithstanding all their care and attention, would otherwise have been very slow. These assistances insured as well as increased the prosperity of the islands, till a storm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

The islands of America are the cause of the war in 1739.

THE English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the new world, which custom had long made them con-

consider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming ^{B O O K}_{X.} better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent, but it was necessary it should be put in execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only stopped those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and, perhaps, too a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretext of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

ENGLAND whose security, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently brook that any checks should be put to it; but were highly incensed when they found that these grievances were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London and in parliament general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council which shewed less spirit as the storm increased, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Those fixed upon, and signed at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its interests, its resentments, and by party spirit, and especially by the number of political writings that were constantly published on the subject.

ENGLAND teems daily with numberless productions of the press, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among these writings some are judicious, written by men of understanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their

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advice contributes to discover to the public their true interests, and to assist the operations of government. Few useful regulations of internal oeconomy are adopted in the state, that have not first been pointed out, modelled, or improved in some of these writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of such an advantage. But, among the few sensible men, who serve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with who either from a disgust to those in power, or from a desire of falling in with the taste of the people, or from some personal motives, delight in raising up a spirit of dissention and discontent. The means generally made use of for this purpose, are to heighten the pretensions of their country beyond their just and legal bounds, and to make the people consider the smallest precautions taken by other powers for the preservation of their possessions, as visible encroachments. These exaggerations, equally the offspring of partiality and falsehood, establish prejudices the effects of which occasion the nation to be constantly at war with its neighbours. If government, from a desire of preserving the balance of justice between itself and other powers, should refuse to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itself, at length, under a necessity of doing it.

THE mob of London, the most contemptible of any in the universe, as the people of England considered in a political view, are the first people in the world; abetted by twenty thousand young men, the sons of distinguished merchants, by their clamours and threats, beset the parliament house, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itself. These despicable men, once roused, revile the most respectable citizen, who has incurred their displeasure and been rendered suspicious to them: they
set

set fire to his house, and scandalously insult the most sacred characters. The tumult can never be appeased, unless they force the ministry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public measures, was, perhaps, never so sensibly felt as at the period we are speaking of.

ENGLAND began the war successfully and with much superior advantages. She had a great number of sailors on foot. Her storehouses filled with warlike armunitions, and her dock-yards were in the most flourishing condition. Her fleets were all in readiness and commanded by experienced officers, waited only for orders to go out, and spread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting such great advantages, must not be censured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above suspicion, since he was never even accused of corruption, in a country where such charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehension he was under of involving himself in difficulties that might endanger his administration; the necessity he found of applying those treasures in military operations, that he had amassed to bribe and secure to himself a party, joined to that of imposing new taxes, which must necessarily raise the aversion that had been entertained both for his person and principles, to the highest degree: all these, and some other circumstances occasioned an irresolution in his conduct that was attended with the most fatal consequences. He lost time, which is of the utmost importance in every expedition, but particularly decisive in all naval operations.

THE fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Carthagena; rather

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ther from the badness of the climate, the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole squadron, from what he actually executed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montiano, who had time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

THOUGH the first efforts of the English against Spanish America, were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor, Charles the VIth, had kindled in Europe an obstinate war, in which the British troops were detained, to support an interest that was extremely doubtful. The hostilities, commenced in distant countries with such great preparations, terminated at last insensibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both sides. The most remarkable event that happened at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which exposed the fishery, commerce,

commerce, and colonies of France, to the greatest danger. This valuable possession was restored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not less the object of censure. BOOK
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THE French, ever influenced by a spirit of chivalry, that has so long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the sacrifice of their lives sufficiently compensated, if it has contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to say, when they have compelled their prince to the necessity of governing them with less attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the same as it was before the war, they then think their honour is lost. This rage for conquest, excusable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones should never be reproached with, threw disgrace on the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored to Austria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious, to attend to political discussions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of establishment for the infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually secured; that she herself was thereby engaged to adjust, with the house of Austria, some interests of the greatest importance: that by becoming guarantees to the king of Prussia for Silesia, two rival powers would in consequence of such an arrangement be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by restoring Friburg, and those towns in Flanders that had been destroyed, they would be easily retaken, if war should again be declared and carried on with vigour: besides, that the number of land forces might always be very easily lessened of fifty thousand men, and the saving which such a reduction would produce, might and ought to be employed in increasing the navy.

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IF therefore the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of her affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming state ; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined : if some of her most considerable provinces had not been in the greatest distress : if she had not lost the key of Canada ; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invasion : if her marine had not been so entirely destroyed, as scarcely to have a ship left to send into the new world ; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a separate treaty with England : independent of all these circumstances, yet peace, as it was then agreed to, would have deserved the approbation of the most sensible and judicious men.

THE ease with which Marshal Saxe penetrated into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing seemed impossible to the victorious arms of Lewis the XIVth ; but it may be thought paradoxical to assert, that the English were extremely desirous of seeing the Dutch subdued. If the republic, which could not possibly separate itself from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as present prejudices against the government, laws, manners, and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have submitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their stock, and their industry, to Great-Britain ? And can there be the least doubt whether such considerable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the English, than an alliance with the Dutch ?

To this observation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, seem not less evident. The court of Vienna has been thought
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either very fortunate, or very skilful, to have been able BOOK
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by the means of negociations, to have wrested out of the hands of the French those places which had been taken from her during the war. But would she not have been more fortunate, or more skilful, had she let her enemy keep part of the conquests obtained over her? That period is now passed, when the house of Austria was equal, or, perhaps, superior to the house of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, should have engaged her to interest other powers in her fortune, even from the losses she had sustained. This she might have effected by sacrificing something, apparently at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally hated, envied, and dreaded, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been sworn against Lewis the XIVth; and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re-acquisition of a distant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary, who managed the negociation, as well as the minister, who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of them had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the same penetration to unravel political designs in the council, to which they were responsible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot presume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories, and that of France is, from its constitution, equally so.

BUT whatever truth there may be in these reflections, it must be allowed, that the expectations of the two
French

BOOK French ministers, who settled the peace, were disappointed.

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The principal object they had in view was the preservation of the colonies, that had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon as the danger was over, this unbounded source of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the same manner as if another Charles the 5th had threatened her frontiers; or another Philip the 2d could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confusion by his intrigues. She was not sensible that her superiority upon the continent was acknowledged, that no single power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the last war, and the arrangements settled by the last peace, had rendered the union of several powers against her impossible. A thousand equally weak and trifling apprehensions disturbed her tranquility. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that she had only one enemy really deserving her attention, and that this enemy could only be checked by a considerable fleet.

THE English, naturally more inclined to envy the prosperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only desirous of becoming rich, but of being exclusively so. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly seek to extend their dominions, but their colonies. Commerce is the sole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the desire of engrossing it all to themselves, has made them perform many great actions, and commit the most flagrant acts of injustice. This passion is so powerful that even their philosophers are not free from it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle used to say, that it would be a commendable action to preach christianity to the savages; because, were they to know only so much of it as would convince them of their

their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great service to the English manufactures. BOOK
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A system of this nature, that the English have scarcely ever lost sight of, discovered itself more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies surprised every attentive mind, and awakened the jealousy of the English. Ashamed however, to let it appear at first, they concealed it for some time under mysterious disguises; and a people who have pride or modesty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not scruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the most insidious policy. America
was the
cause of the
war in
1755.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confused state of her finances, intimidated by the small number of her ships, and the inexperience of her admirals; seduced by a love of ease, pleasure and tranquility, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did some able statesmen continually urge that Great-Britain was and ought to be desirous of a war; and that she was compelled to begin it, before the military navy of her rival had attained to the same perfection with that of her trading navy. These causes of apprehension seemed absurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a spirit of imitation only; where it had been shackled by every species of restraint, and always sacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and men were, perhaps, ignorant that they were in possession of the most valuable and richest commerce in the world. The nation, indebted to nature for a most excellent soil, to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her disposition for a taste in those arts which vary and increase the enjoyments of life; to her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in

BOOK in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would
 { **X.** } be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly fell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities, without having previously paid any attention to those formalities, that are in use among civilized people.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which seem to be bound by no ties as soon as they intend to massacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the British ministry gave reason to do something more than suspect the injustice of its conduct. The weakness of their measures, the perplexity of their operations, the various modes of justification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve so scandalous a violation; these with several other circumstances plainly discovered the guilt of their proceeding. If those weak ministers, of so great a power, had been as bold in committing crimes, as they were uninfluenced by the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the most extensive nature. When they unjustly gave orders to attack all the French ships upon the northern coast of America, they would have extended these orders to every sea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any resistance, would have been the necessary consequence of such a strong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the English flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A success so remarkable and decisive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have justified

fixed it to the political world, and the remonstrances of the **BOOK**
 wife, would have been lost in the clamours of the ignorant **X.**
 and ambitious.

A weak, but still an unjust conduct, was attended with **The be-**
 very contrary effects. The ministry of George the II^d **ginning of**
 was hated as well as despised over all Europe. France, **the war un-**
 though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, **favourable**
to the Eng-
 gained considerable advantages by sea, took Minorca, and **lish.**
 threatened London itself. Her rival was then sensible of
 the truth of what men of understanding had long since
 observed even in England, that the French united the
 greatest contrarieties in their character; that they blended
 virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and strength, that
 had always been thought inconsistent with each other:
 that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted
 to pleasure and glory; serious in trifles, and trifling in
 matters of importance; ever disposed to war, and ready
 to attack: in a word, mere children, suffering themselves,
 as the Athenians of old, to be disquieted and moved to
 anger for interests, whether real or imaginary; fond of
 enterprize, ready to follow any guide, and comforted
 in the greatest distresses with the most trifling suc-
 cess. The English, who according to a vulgar, though
 strong expression of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in*
the garret, and know no medium, began then to be too
 much afraid of a nation that they had unjustly despised.
 A spirit of despondency succeeded to that of presumption.

THE nation, deceived by the too great confidence it
 had placed in its opulence; humiliated by the introduc-
 tion of foreign troops, and by the moral character and
 inability of its governors; weakened too by the collision
 of factions, which keep up an exertion of strength among
 a free people in times of peace, but which destroy their
 power in times of war: the nation, disgraced, astonished,

B O O K and uncertain what measures to pursue; equally sensible
 X. of the distresses it had already been exposed to, as of those it foresaw, was incapable of exerting itself to revenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cause was confined to the granting of immense supplies. That the coward is sooner disposed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off the danger, and that the present critical situation of affairs required them not to consider who should pay, but who should stand forward to fight: these were truths, which at that time seemed to have been forgotten.

THE French, on the contrary, were dazzled with some instances of success that were of no consequence. Presuming, that the surprize their enemies had been thrown into, was a proof of their weakness, they involved themselves further than was consistent with their interest, in the troubles that then began to divide the German powers.

A system, which if unsuccessful, must have been attended with the greatest disgrace, and if fortunate, must have been destructive in the end, served to confound them. Their vanity made them forget, that a few months before, they had applauded the wise and enlightned statesman, who being desirous to avoid a land war, which some ministers were willing to enter into, from their despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed himself to them in the following words: *Gentlemen, said he, let us all, who are here present in council, go out with torches in our hands, and set fire to all our ships; if they are useless to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This political insatuation threw them into the greatest difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was subjected to the intrigues

trigues of the court. A series of bad success was the con-^{BOOK}
sequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This ^{X.}
light and superficial nation did not perceive, that even
supposing, what indeed was impossible, that all those
who were successively intrusted with the direction of the
military operations, had really been men of abilities,
yet they could not contend with advantage against a man
of genius, assisted by a man of distinguished capacity. Mis-
fortunes made no alteration in the system they had formed,
and the changes of generals were endless.

WHILST the French were thus deceived, the English,
from a spirit of dejection, proceeded to the most violent
fury: they changed a ministry that had justly given ge-
neral dissatisfaction, and placed a man at the head of af-
fairs who was equally an enemy to timid measures, to the
royal prerogative, and to France. Though this choice
was the consequence of that spirit of party which causes
the greatest revolution in England, yet it was such as
the circumstances of the time required. William Pitt,
a favourite from his youth in the three kingdoms, on ac-
count of his integrity and disinterestedness, his zeal against
corruption, and his inviolable attachment to the interests
of the public; had a soul formed for great designs; was
distinguished by a species of eloquence, that never failed
to captivate the minds of his hearers, and by a character
equally firm and enterprising. He was ambitious to make
his country rise superior to all others, and at the same
time to raise his own fame. His enthusiasm fired a na-
tion, which will always be inspired by a love of liberty.
The admiral who had suffered Minorca to be taken, was
arrested, thrown into prison, accused, tried, and sentenced
to death. Neither his rank, his abilities, his family, nor
his friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law.
His own ship was the spot fixed upon for the execution

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of his sentence. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was struck with astonishment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether he was guilty or not, proclaimed in the most alarming manner, to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said within himself at the instant of battle : It is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism,

THIS system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by a emulation, that seemed to promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, pleasure, indolence, and frequently vice, and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and numerous intimacies in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have little intercourse and connection with each other ; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations, but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state, immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure its success, and with such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail. This zeal is more remarkably distinguished when the nation has placed an implicit confidence in the minister who has the direction of public measures. As soon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minister, a marine society was established, which perceiving that there appeared a remissness in general to enter into the sea service, and disapproving the custom of pressing men into it, invited the children of the poorest class in the three kingdoms, to become ship boys, and their fathers sailors. They under-
took

took to pay the expences of their voyage ; to take care of them in sickness ; feed, clothe, and furnish them with every thing necessary to preserve their health during the time they were to be at sea. The king, struck with this instance of patriotifm, gave them (g) 22,500 livres ; the prince of Wales (b) 9000 livres, and the princess of Wales (i) 4500. The actors of the different theatres, whose abilities this enlightened nation has had the generosity to pay a proper attention to, acted their best plays for the increafe of fo respectable an establishment. The theatres were never fo much crouded as on this occasion. A hundred of these ship boys, and a hundred of the sailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be held sacred, appeared upon the stage ; a decoration, this surely not inferior to that arising from the elegance of dresses, and the brilliancy of jewels.

THIS public zeal and attachment to the interests of the nation, animated the minds of all the English, and the effects of it were displayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coasts of their enemies ; beat them every where by sea ; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Westphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the East-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became minister, all the expeditions of the nation, made in distant countries, had been unsuccessful, and must necessarily have been so, because they had been ill concerted. He, on the contrary, planned such prudent and useful designs ; his preparations were conducted with so much foresight and dispatch ; his means were so well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain ; the confidants of his measures so well chosen ; he established so much harmony between the land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the English to such a

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The English are roused from their lethargy, and seize the French and Spanish islands.

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height,

(g) 984*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*(b) 393*l.* 15*s.*(i) 196*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

B O O K height, that his whole administration was a series of conquests. He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchased by money, and that money must not be spent at the expence of victory.*

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr. Pitt had always been successful against France in every place. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar plantations. These possessions, so justly prized for their importance, were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there, were constructed without judgment, and were in a ruinous state. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother country, had been at an end. They could neither receive necessaries from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the works of husbandry. If any greedy navigators ever reached them, it was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at the dearest rates, and to give them in exchange whatever they chose to take from them at the lowest price. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother country, would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches, and frigates, with five thousand land forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Guadaloupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January, 1759; and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre.

If the besiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations, afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made less resistance than that of Basse-Terre, which surrendered in four and twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and suffered the same inconveniences from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who succeeded to the command at the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his soldiers, who successively attacked the houses and villages upon the coasts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonies to submit. The whole island, after three months defence, surrendered on the 21st day of April, upon honourable terms of capitulation.

THE troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great-Britain revived a design that had been too hastily given up, but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, sent from Europe and from North-America, under the command of general

BOOK Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, commanded
 X. by admiral Rodney, appeared before the capital of the island. The landing of the troops the next day was soon effected, without difficulty, and without loss. To take possession of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, seemed to be a matter not so easily accomplished. These obstacles, however, were after some warm engagements surmounted, and the place that would soon have been reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the same on the 13th. It is probable that the prosperity of Guadalupe, under the British Government, contributed to bring about this general surrender; which might and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada, and the other Leeward islands, whether subject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, surrendered themselves without making any resistance.

St. Domingo, the only possession the French still retained in the great Archipelago of America was likely to fall into the hands of the English; and its loss seemed to be not far distant. If it had not even been known, that this was the first conquest Great-Britain would attempt, yet it could not be supposed that it would escape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own successes so far as to give up all thoughts of a conquest that would have compleated their prosperity? This was a point that seemed not to be doubtful. The colony was generally known to be defenceless, and therefore incapable of making the least resistance. They were so sensible of their weakness, that they seemed disposed to surrender as soon as they should be summoned to do it.

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THE court of France was equally astonished and BOOK
X. alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at those it foresaw. They had expected such an obstinate resistance as would have been superior to every attack. The descendants of those brave adventures, who had settled these colonies, seemed a rampart sufficient to repel all the forces of the British empire. They almost felt a secret satisfaction that the English were directing their efforts to that quarter. The minister had inspired the nation with the same confidence that possessed him, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to shew the least uneasiness.

It is an observation, that we may now be allowed to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whose whole fortunes consist in fields and pastures will, if influenced by any degree of spirit, resolutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year is the utmost they can lose, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not distress them to such a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The case is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of these colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the risque of having the labours of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and all the hopes of their posterity either lost by fire or plunder; they therefore, always submit to the enemy. Though satisfied with the government under which they live, they are less attached to its glory than to their own posterity.

THE example of the first colonists, whose fidelity could not be shaken by the most vigorous attacks, does not weaken the truth of this observation. The object of war was then the acquisition of territory, and the expulsion of the inhabitants; at present, a war waged against a colony, is directed only against the sovereign of it.

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The plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt; though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, sufficient lights to guide him. The counsels of kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that surrounds them. Their ministers, faithful depositaries of what they have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal it, explain themselves no further than is sufficient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes to discover them. Whatever penetration he may shew, in tracing the source and connection of events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant that they are so, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory than a total ignorance. He must, therefore, wait till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint of silence, shall unfold the truth; till the death of some great persons, by whom he may have been kept in awe, shall set him at liberty; in a word, till some valuable and original records be produced for public inspection, wherein the latent springs on which the destiny of nations has hung, shall be discovered.

THESE reflections should suspend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progress of political intrigues. But we are desirous of penetrating into the soul of one of the greatest men of his age, and, perhaps, we can never do it with greater propriety. The most conspicuous actions of a man's life only are transmitted to posterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of simple and

and article details, that enlightened the mind of an observer, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having reflected England from the disgrace it had been exposed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of success that astonished all the world. Whether he foresaw this, or not, he did not seem to be embarrassed with it, and resolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation that so many statesmen had affected before him, seemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakness or their indolence. He imagined that all states should exert their power to the utmost, and that there was no instance of one nation being able to become superior to another and not effecting it. The parallel that he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneasiness that the power England founded upon a trade, which she might and would lose, was very inconsiderable, when compared with the power of her rival; which nature, art, and particular circumstances had raised to such a degree of strength, under favourable administrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Sensible of this truth, he, therefore, determined to deprive France of her colonies, and by confining her to the continent, diminish her importance, and reduce her to the standard of other nations.

THE means necessary to complete this project, already so far advanced, appeared to him absolutely certain. Whilst the imagination of weak minds took shadows for realities, the greatest difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was sometimes alarmed at his vast and uncommon engagements, he was not in the least disquieted about them; because, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, whose course he knew how to direct which way he would.

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PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune, he was still more so with regard to power. His successes had made his administration absolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the sovereign he was a despotic minister. To think differently from him was a mark of being an enemy to the common cause.

HE made use of the superiority he had gained with great advantage, in stirring up the minds of the people. Little influenced by that species of philosophy, which, divesting itself of the prejudices of national glory, to interest itself in the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed, to be a love of his country; but when traced to the origin, was, in reality, nothing more than a strong aversion from a nation he wanted to oppress.

FRANCE was as much discouraged by this spirit of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by the distresses she had undergone. The diminution, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, gave her a very very bad prospect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate success by land might occasion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroyed one or several of those of her rival, the English would not have renounced any of their claims. This is a general rule. Whenever any power has acquired a very determined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the course of the war; more particularly, if that superiority can be traced from a distant cause, and especially if it proceeds partly from the character of the nation. The superiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a single man, and may be lost in a moment: on the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from the vigilance

giance and interest of each individual in the state, must always increase, particularly, when it is encouraged by its national constitution : a sudden invasion can alone put a stop to it. BOOK
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NOTHING but a general confederacy could have restored the balance of power ; the impossibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly saw. He knew the restraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Russians, and the little regard that several of these powers paid to the interests of France. He was conscious also of the terror which the English forces had spread among them all, the mistrust they entertained of each other, and the apprehension that each of them must have, that they should be distressed before they could receive assistance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumstanced. The ravages that laid waste the French colonies, and which every day increased, might easily extend to the settlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be sensible of the danger that threatened it, its usual indolence accompanied it with regard to these great objects. At length, upon a change of minister, a new system took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to put a stop to this scene of confusion ; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtiness. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposition that was made, in the following manner : *I will listen to them, said he, when you have taken the Tower of London sword in hand.* This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the court of France thought herself obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great-Britain. Both courts were equally

BOOK ^X by apprehensive, and with good reason, that Mr. Pitt would oppose them. He consented to enter into a negotiation; but the event showed, as sensible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His design was only to furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great-Britain, and to lay them before his country. As soon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negotiation, and proposed declaring war against Spain. The superiority of the naval power of England above that of both these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him with this confidence.

MR. Pitt's system appeared, to distinguished politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reasonable system. The English nation had contracted such a load of debt, that it could neither free itself from it, nor support it, without opening to itself new sources of opulence. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great-Britain had made her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to disable her oppressor from continuing them. The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered, and for the losses it had sustained; it could not but make secret preparations, and gradually work up a spirit of revenge to which a combination of all its forces might infuse success. These motives obliged Great-Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the 3d as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness or of infatuation, perhaps, of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

MAY

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a war; but equally tired out and disgusted by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring that spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves upon a level with a man of so much distinguished merit, or of making him stoop to them, they united their endeavours to ruin him. As they found they could not succeed by open attacks, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a snare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned from caprice, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped, by this expedient, to humble his enemies, he showed, that he had a greater knowledge of affairs than men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for measures he did not guide, it may be thought that he was more strongly attached to his own personal glory, than to the interest of his country. Whatever may have been the cause of his resignation, nothing but the blindest, most unjust, and most violent partiality can venture to assert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

BUT however this may be, the first step the new ministry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought necessary to declare war against Spain, and the West Indies were to be the scene of these new hostilities. Experience had already discouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of sense and understanding perceived that the

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the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies. By this step the empire of the gulph of Mexico would be secured; the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the duties laid upon goods, would be deprived of all its resources: the whole commerce of the continent would be seized upon, and the inhabitants would chuse rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe. Besides, that the power of Spain would be so much reduced by these losses, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms.

AGREEABLE to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North-America, set sail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old streight of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this navigation little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that Admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July, 1762, he arrived at the place where he was destined; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

THE operations, by land, were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single wall that covers it, could not have held out for four and twenty hours. It is probable,

bable; that the generals, the council, and the regency, BOOK
X. who must infallibly have fallen into his hands, after a success that might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would have thus prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the siege, and have secured the most likely means to reduce it in a very short time.

The plan he pursued of beginning his operations, by the attack of the Moro, exposed him to great distresses. The water that was near him was unwholesome, and he found himself under a necessity of procuring some at three leagues distance from his camp. As the sloops that were sent for this purpose might be attacked, it was thought necessary to post a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroftigny, at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or supported but by sea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the disposition of the enemy from their not molesting the troops posted at Aroftigny, should have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this step he would have been able almost to surround it; he would most undoubtedly have distressed it by famine, prevented all removal of effects into the country, and opened a less dangerous communication with Aroftigny, than by the detachments he was constantly obliged to send, in order to support this advanced body of troops.

THE siege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The soldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for sacks of cotton, that

BOOK were taken out of some merchant ships arrived from Jamaica. This want of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number of men, always of great value, but more especially so, in a climate, where diseases and fatigues cause so great a consumption of them.

X. THE English general, having lost a great part of his army, and finding the necessity, for want of troops, of reembarking in a few days, determined to attempt storming the town; but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was first to be passed, and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

IF the faults of the English were very considerable, those of the Spaniards were still greater. Though apprized above a month before that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not roused from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coasts, and they had made no provisions of balls of a proper size for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one single gun, or even a firelock fit to make use of.

THE great number of officers, of the land and sea service, who were at the Havannah, occasioned, during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty in the resolutions that could not but be favourable to the besiegers.

THREE ships of war were sunk, to stop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not pass. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ships lost, without any reason.

THE most common prudence would have suggested that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah, should have been got ready to sail. They could not possibly be of any service in defending the place, and it was a matter of some consequence to save them. But this was neglected. Neither did they think of setting them

on

on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. BOOK
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THE destruction of the body of English troops, posted at Arostigny, where they could not receive any assistance, might have been easily effected. This check would have put the besiegers to some difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their plan of operations, and inspired the Spanish forces with some degree of confidence. But far from making so easy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the English detachments, though composed entirely of infantry, and which might have been opposed by a regiment of dragoons and a great number of militia that were provided with horses.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was scarcely even interrupted, and yet none of those who had a share in the administration, ever thought of conveying the treasure of the king into the inland parts, to prevent its being taken by the enemy.

THE last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of a rock, terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterscarp. A sergeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themselves among some stones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers, and some soldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Valasco, indeed, informed of what had hap-

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opened, hastened to save the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to observe the motions of the enemy, lodged upon the ditch, occasioned this event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five (*b*) millions of silver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the islands by the peace.

THE loss of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain, in the new world, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of France, whose distresses were now brought to the highest pitch.

THE English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable and uncertain; and that she would be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could be conceived, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation,

(*b*) 1,968,750*l*.

nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of its richest branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken this power, from the necessity that it would have forced it to of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its situation, must be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its marine. Lastly, it would have kept New England in a closer and more absolute dependance on the mother country, a part of America that would always want to be supported against a restless, active and warlike neighbour.

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BUT though the council of George the 3^d should have thought it necessary to restore to its enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reserve to itself the most valuable islands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt so sensible a measure. In other countries the faults of the ministers are imputed only to themselves, or to their kings, who punish them for their misconduct. In England, the errors of administration are generally the errors of the nation, who insist upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

THE English, who have complained of the terms of the last peace, when they have been shewn how far short they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in some measure, dictated those very terms themselves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed some outrages and the savages many acts of cruelty in the English colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the distresses they suffered, and more so at those they feared, had, caused their cla-

BOOK X. **X.** mours to be heard even in Europe. Their correspondents, interested to obtain them a speedy and powerful redress, had aggravated their complaints. Those writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumstance, that can render the French nation odious, had loaded it with every species of invective. The people, exasperated by the report of the shocking scenes that were perpetually presented to its imagination, wished to see a stop put to these barbarities.

ON the other hand, the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, satisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wishing the conquest of their neighbours settlements, they rather dreaded it, considering it as destructive to themselves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are so much better than those of the English, that no competition could possibly have taken place. Their allies were of the same opinion and followed the example of their moderation.

THE consequence of so contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the sugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. The ministry, which, in England, can never support its authority against the people, or, at least, cannot long maintain itself successfully against its general odium, turned all their views to this object, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river of St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. Besides this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, provided that, on her part, she might

might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America. BOOK
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From this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing the ports and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the new world. Mexico was in its power, as the English only were in possession of the gulph that opens the way to it. So valuable a continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been gained over, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been induced to shake off the yoke of the mother country, which only took up arms to distress its colonies, and not to protect them; and the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the English more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by rescuing the human race from the oppressions they suffered in the new world, and by removing the injuries this oppression has occasioned to Europe in particular.

ALL those subjects, who are sacrificed to the severity, oppression and deceit of our governments; all those families that are ruined by the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, instead of obeying and becoming subject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in those countries. These, as well as a multitude of workmen, without employment; of husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate persons, would have fled into these

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regions, which receive only just and civilized inhabitants, to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there. Those Russian peasants, I mean, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of tilling and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been lost in these transmigrations, through extensive seas, into foreign climates; but this would have been an infinitely less evil than that of a tyranny, working by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would be much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and destroy.

THIS is a wish which though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but fruitless concern in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man, for the prosperity of the world, be for ever lost, whilst those of the ambitious and extravagant are so often favoured and successful?

SINCE war has been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity that it may, at length, tend to procure some good. But what has been the consequence of the last war, one of those that has been the most distressful to the human race? It has occasioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and has cost Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Those who were not its victims, are now oppressed by it, and their posterity will long groan under the weight of the enormous taxes it has given rise to. The
nation,

nation, whom victory attended in all parts, still feels **BOOK**
 the wounds by which its triumphs were obtained. Its **X.**
 public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did
 not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres, *(l)* arose, at the con-
 clusion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres, *(m)* for
 which it must pay an interest of 111,577,490 livres. *(n)*

BUT let us now take our leave of war. Let us con-
 sider by what means the nations, who have divided the
 great Archipelago of America, that has been the origin
 of so many quarrels and negotiations, and has given rise
 to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a
 pitch of opulence, that may, without exaggeration,
 be considered as the first cause of all the great events that
 at present disturb the peace of the globe.

(l) 70,747,558*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

(m) 145,687,500*l.*

(n) 4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

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The Europeans go into Africa to purchase slaves to cultivate the Caribbees. The manner of conducting this species of commerce. Produce accruing from the labour of the slaves.

CERTAIN restless fugitives, the greatest part of whom had either been disgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their own debaucheries; in this state of desperation, formed a design of attacking Spanish or Portuguese ships that were richly laden with the spoils of the new world. Some desert islands, whose situation insured success to these piracies, served at first for a place of rendezvous to these robbers, and soon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the massacre of a plain and unsuspecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which these Buccaneers were the refuse, adopted this execrable scheme without hesitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became necessary to consider what advantages might accrue from so many enormities. Gold and silver, which were still looked upon as the sole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never existed in several of these new acquisitions,

quisitions, or not in sufficient quantities to expect any BOOK
XI. considerable emoluments from working the mines. Certain speculative men, less blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a soil and climate, so totally different from ours, might either furnish us with commodities, to which we were strangers, or which we were obliged to purchase at an exorbitant price: they, therefore, determined to apply themselves to the culture of them. There were some obstacles, apparently insurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely destroyed, and had they not been so, the weakness of their constitutions, their habits of ease and indolence, and invincible aversion from labour, would scarcely have rendered them fit instruments to execute the designs of their oppressors. These barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not support the irksome toils of agriculture, under a burning and unwholesome sky. Self-interest, ever fruitful in expedients, devised the plan of seeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman custom of selling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

AFRICA is an immense region, connected to Asia by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the isthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary to the ocean, must sooner or later break down, by that tendency it is observed to have of forming gulphs and straits eastward. This great peninsula, cut by the equator into two unequal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of whose sides fronts the east, the other the north, and the third the west. The Europeans go into Africa, in search of cultivators.

THE eastern side, which extends to Suez, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is washed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The interior parts of the country are but little known, and what is known, can neither excite the mer-

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cenary views of the trader, the curiosity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philosopher. Even the missionaries, after having made some progress in these countries, especially in Abyssinia, totally discouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned this people to their inconstancy and perfidy. The coasts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waste of dry and burning sand. Those portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Dutch. Their commerce, which consists only in a little ivory or gold, and some slaves, is connected with the trade of the East-Indies.

Opinions
concerning
the northern
coast
of Africa.

THE northern side, which extends from the isthmus of Suez to the straits of Gibraltar, is bounded by the Mediterranean. On this side, nine hundred leagues of coast are occupied by Egypt, and by the country, which has for several centuries been known by the name of Barbary.

EGYPT, which was the nursery of arts and sciences, of commerce and government, offers nothing that can recall to our remembrance the idea of its former greatness. Bending under the yoke of despotism, which the ignorance and superstition of the Turks have imposed on her, the only intercourse she seems to have with foreign nations, by the ports of Damietta and of Alexandria, serves only to render them witnesses of her total declension and ruin.

THE fate of ancient Lybia, now Barbary, is no less wonderful. The early periods of this extensive country are involved in the greatest obscurity. The cloud began to be dispelled at the arrival of the Carthaginians. These merchants, originally of Phœnician extraction, about an hundred and thirty-seven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, whose territory, at first, very limited, in process of time, extended to all that country,

known

known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greatest part of the islands in the Mediterranean, fell under its dominion. Many other kingdoms must manifestly have served to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with those of Rome. At the time of this dreadful collision, a war between these two nations was instantly kindled, so obstinate and violent, that it was easy to foresee it would not terminate, but in the utter destruction of the one or the other. That state, which was now in the height of its republican and patriotic principles, after the most skillful and the most stubborn engagements, obtained a decisive superiority over that which was corrupted by its riches. The commercial people became the slaves of the warlike power.

THE conquerors maintained themselves in the possession of their conquests, till about the middle of the fifth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuosity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were masters, passed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffused themselves over the country of Lybia. These barbarians would certainly have preserved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, if they had kept up that military spirit which their king, Genseric, had inspired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not destitute of genius, this spirit became extinct; military discipline was relaxed, and the government which rested only on this basis, was overthrown. Belisarius surprized these people in this confusion, extirpated them, and re-established the empire in its ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to maturity a rising nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to ancient and decayed people.

IN

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In the seventh century, the Saracens, formidable by their institutions and their success, armed with the sword and with the coran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their divisions, to repass the seas, and augmented that vast dominion Mohammed had just founded with so much glory, with the accession of the northern part of Africa. The Caliphs lieutenants afterwards stripped their masters of the rich spoils, and erected the provinces, committed to their care, into independent states.

SUCH was the state of affairs at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Mohammedans of Algiers, who were afraid of falling under the yoke of Spain, invited the Turks to their assistance. The Porte sent Barbarossa, who at first protected, but in the end enslaved them. The Bassas who succeeded him, and were the governors of Tunis and Tripoli, both conquered and oppressed cities, exercised a tyranny, which very fortunately was carried to such an height, that from its excess it must necessarily terminate in its own destruction; and the same violent measures that supported it, were exerted in delivering the people from it. One circumstance, however, is worthy of observation, that the three states adopted the same kind of government, which is a species of aristocracy. The chief, who under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the soldiery, which is always Turkish, and constitutes the only nobility of the country. These elections are seldom made by the soldiery without bloodshed, and it is a common thing for a man, who has been elected in the midst of riot and slaughter, to be afterwards assassinated by a restless faction, who design either to secure that distinction for themselves, or to sell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, which has successively swallowed up the kingdoms of Fez, of Tafilet, and of Sus, because it is hereditary

hereditary in a national family, is, however, subjected to BOOK
the same revolutions. The enormities of the princes and XI.
the people are the primary cause of this instability.

THE interior parts of Barbary are full of Arabs, who are what men in the primitive ages must have been, shepherds in a wandering and unsettled state. Customs, which are disgusting to our effeminate manners, are considered by them either as great or simple, resulting from the dictates of nature. When the most illustrious among the Arabians intend to receive a stranger with marks of distinction, they go themselves in search of the choicest lamb of their flocks, slay it with their own hands, and like the patriarchs of Moses, or the heroes of Homer, cut it in pieces, whilst their wives are occupied in the other preparations of the festival. The children of the most distinguished men among them, even of Scheiks and Emirs, tend the family flocks. The boys and girls have no other employment during their tender years.

THESE are not the happy manners of those who live in towns or inhabit the sea-shore. Equally averse from the toils of agriculture and from the more sedentary arts, they are voracious pirates. At first, they contented themselves with ravaging the vast and fertile plains of Spain. They surprised in their beds the indolent inhabitants of the rich countries of Valencia, Granada and Andalusia, and carried them off for slaves. Afterwards disdaining the booty they acquired from countries, they had formerly cultivated, they built large vessels, and insulted the flag of all nations. These naval equipments, which were gradually improved into little squadrons, received an annual accession, by means of the avarice of great numbers of christians, who furnished the people of Barbary with materials for their armaments, who interested themselves in their cruises, and who sometimes even ventured to direct their

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their operations. These pirates reduced the greatest powers of Europe to the disgrace of making them annual presents, which, under whatever name they are disguised, are in reality a tribute. They have sometimes been punished and humbled; but their robberies have never been totally suppressed. Charles the 5th, tho' he was always busy in exciting commotions during the age in which he lived, yet he would sometimes penetrate into futurity by that foresight which atones, in some degree, for the faults of a turbulent spirit, saw what the people of Barbary might one day become. Disdaining to enter into any kind of treaty with them, he formed the generous plan of destroying them. The rivalry of Francis the 1st made his project miscarry; and since his time history has it not in her power to celebrate any prince for resuming the idea of so glorious an enterprize, the execution of which would be attended with no great difficulty.

THE inhabitants of Barbary groan under a yoke of which they are impatient. The tyrant of Morocco insolently sports with the liberties and lives of his subjects. This despotic sovereign, an executioner in the strictest sense of the word, every day exposes on the walls of his palace, or his capital, the heads of the innocent or the guilty whom he has slaughtered with his own hand. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, though exempt from a like ferocity, are, however, under a severe subjection. Slaves to fifteen or twenty thousand Turks, who have been chosen out from among the dregs of the Ottoman empire, they become in a hundred different ways the victims of this brutal soldiery. An authority resting on so tottering a basis, cannot possibly be firmly established, and might be easily subverted.

No foreign succour would retard its fall for a moment. The only power that might be suspected of wishing its preservation,

preservation, namely the Ottoman empire, is not so highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which they confer on it, as to interest itself warmly in their safety. BOOK
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All endeavours to excite them to interfere, by submissions, which particular circumstances might, probably, extort from these robbers, would certainly be ineffectual. The wishes of the Porte would not impart strength. For these two centuries past, the Porte have no navy, and their military power is continually decaying.

BUT to what nation is the glory reserved of breaking those fetters which Africa is thus insensibly preparing for us, and of removing those terrors, which are so formidable to navigation? No one nation alone can attempt it; perhaps, if it did, the jealousy of the rest would throw secret obstacles in its way. This must, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers must concur in the execution of a design, in which all are equally interested. These states, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having so frequently waited for their mutual destruction, let them at length take up arms for their preservation. War for once at least, will then become useful and just.

ONE may venture to assert, that such a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with skill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the same time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak resistance, or, perhaps, none. The people of Barbary, being thus suddenly deprived of all power of defending themselves, would undoubtedly abandon their governors, and relinquish the government by which they have been constantly oppressed. Perhaps this noblest and greatest of enterprizes would cost Europe less

B O O K blood and treasure, than the most trivial of those quarrels
 { **XI.** } with which it is continually agitated.

No one would be so unjust as to suppose, that the politicians, who should form this plan, would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, demolishing of forts, and ravaging of coasts. Such narrow notions would be inconsistent with the present improvements of reason. The countries subdued, would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire possessions, proportionate to the assistance they had given to the common cause. These conquests would become so much the more secure, as the happiness of the vanquished would be the consequence of them. This race of pirates, these sea monsters, would be changed into men by salutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progress they would gradually make, by the knowledge we should impart to them, would in time dispel that fanaticism which ignorance and misery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect with gratitude the memorable era which had brought us to their shores.

We should then no longer see a country uncultivated, which was formerly so fertile. Corn and various fruits would soon cover this immense tract of land. Their commodities would be bartered for the productions of our industry and of our manufactures. European traders settled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication so natural, between opposite coasts, and between people who have a necessary intercourse with each other, would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conquest, which readily occurs to the mind, would amply compensate for those, which during so many centuries, have contributed to the distress of mankind.

THE

THE jealousy of the great maritime powers, who have obstinately rejected all expedients to re-establish tranquility on our seas, hath been the chief impediment to so important a revolution. The hope of checking the industry of every weak state, hath accustomed them to wish, that these piracies of the people of Barbary should continue, and hath even induced them to encourage these plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their understanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greatest advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime states, in proportion to their power. Their situation, the safety of their navigation, the greatness of their capital, and a hundred other means, would secure them this superiority. They are constantly complaining of the shackles which national envy, the folly of restraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of exclusive traffic have imposed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much strangers to one another as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication necessarily occasions, would be filled up; if Africa were brought to have wants, and resources to satisfy them. The spirit of commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

HOWEVER, if the reduction and subjection of Barbary would not become a source of happiness for them as well as for ourselves; if we are resolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wish not to consider them as our friends; if we must keep up and perpetuate slavery and poverty amongst them; if fanaticism can still renew those detestable cruades, which philosophy too late hath consigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa must at last become the scene of our cruelties, as Asia and America have been,

BOOK and still are ; may the project which humanity hath now
XI. dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be
 buried in perpetual oblivion ! Let us remain in our
 ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Christians or
 Mussulmen who suffer. Man is the only object worthy
 to interest man.

Do we hope to accustom the Africans to commerce,
 by the slow and gentle expedients of treaties, which must
 often be renewed, and purchased as often ? To be as-
 sured of the contrary, it is only necessary to take a tran-
 sient view of the present state of the Europeans with re-
 gard to these people.

THE French have never trafficked with Morocco.
 They have always been in a state of war with it. The
 English, Dutch, and Swedes, disgusted by the repeated
 insults they have received, never appear there but occa-
 sionally. The whole commerce is almost entirely in the
 hands of Denmark, which hath committed it to a com-
 pany, formed upon a capital of five hundred shares of five
 hundred crowns each. (c) Its establishment was in 1755,
 and it is to continue forty years. It imports English
 cloth, silver tissues, and silks ; some linens, iron, tar, and
 sulphur ; and brings in exchange, copper, gums, wool,
 wax, and leather. These exchanges are made at Sally,
 Tetuan, Mongador, Safia, and Santa-Cruz. One may
 judge of the extent of this commerce by the profits of
 the custom houses, which are let for 255,000 livres. (p)

THE trade of Algiers is not so considerable. The
 English, French, and Jews of Leghorn, are rivals in it.
 The two first send in their own vessels, and the last under
 a neutral flag, cloth, spice, paper, hardware, coffee,
 sugar, linens, alum, indigo, cochineal ; and receive in
 exchange, wool, wax, feathers, leather, oil, and several
 goods arising from captures. The returns, though a
 fourth

(c) 65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*(p) 11,156*l.* 5*s.*

fourth more than the out-goings, do not annually exceed a million of livres. (g) France has one half, and her rivals nearly divide the rest. BOOK XI.

INDEPENDENT of this commerce, which is totally carried on by the metropolis, there is some business done at Callua, Bona, and Collou, three other ports of the republic. This trade would have been extended and improved, if it had not been subjected to a monopoly and to a foreign one. Ancient treaties, which have been pretty commonly observed, have yielded this vast coast to an exclusive company established at Marseilles. Its capital is twelve hundred thousand livres, (r) and its annual traffic in merchandize, which may amount to eight or nine hundred thousand, (s) employs thirty or forty ships. It purchases corn, wool, coal, and leather, with specie.

TUNIS may receive two millions (t) in foreign merchandize, and sell its own for two millions five hundred thousand livres. (u) The French, in conducting this traffic, two thirds of the profit, the Tuscans the rest. This commerce is supported and carried on nearly in the same manner as every traffic in other states of Barbary.

THE trade that is carried on in Tripoli is very considerable. The country is so wretched, that nothing can be imported thither but some hardware of little value. The exports of wool, senna, ashes, wax, and pulse, are scarce worth notice. But though this coast is so little advantageous to commerce, by the supplies it can furnish; and though it is so prejudicial to it by the piracies that are exercised there, the western coast of Africa fully compensates these losses by the benefits it procures to the American colonies.

THE coast of this immense country extends from the straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. All its inhabitants are black. The cause of this singularity has

Climate of the western coast of Africa, known by the name of the coast of Guinea.

I 3

(g) 43,750*l.* (r) 52,500*l.* (s) About 37,000*l.* on an average.
(t) 87,500*l.* (u) 109,375.

B O O K been the subject of much inquiry, which hath given rise to
 { **XI.** a variety of systems. Some have absurdly supposed, that the negroes being the descendents of Cain, have had this mark of infamy stamped upon them, as a punishment for the fratricide of their ancestor. If it were so, it must be allowed, that his posterity have made a severe atonement for his crime; and that the descendents of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the blood of their innocent father.

BUT waving the discussion of such ridiculous fancies, let us inquire whether it is possible that the negroes should derive their colour from the climate they inhabit? Some philosophers and eminent naturalists are of this opinion. There are no negroes, say they, but in the hottest countries. Their colour becomes darker the nearer they approach to the equator. It becomes lighter or more bright at the very verge of the torrid zone. The whole human species in general contract whiteness from the snow; and grow tanned in the sun. One sees various shades from white to black, and from black to white, marked out as it were by the parallel degrees which cut the earth from the equator to the poles. If the zones, imagined by the inventors of the sphere, were represented by real bands, one might perceive the jetty colour of the natives insensibly decrease to the right and left as far as the two tropics; from thence the brown colour of the inhabitants grow paler and brighter to the polar circles, by shades of white, becoming more and more brilliant. But it is somewhat remarkable, that nature, which hath lavished the brightness of the most beautiful colours on the skin and plumage of animals, and on vegetables and metals, should, properly speaking, have left men without colour, since black and white are nothing but the beginning and absence of all colours.

WHAT-

WHATEVER be the original and radical cause of that variety of complexion in the human species, it is agreed, that this complexion is owing to a gelatinous substance that is lodged between the cuticle and the skin. This substance is blackish in negroes, brown in olive coloured or swarthy people, white in Europeans, and diversified with reddish spots in people who have extremely light or red hair. BOOK
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ANATOMY hath discovered, that in negroes the substance of the brain is blackish, that the pineal gland is entirely black, and that their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people. Their skin is always hotter, and their pulse quicker. The passions, therefore, of fear and love, are carried to excess among these people; and this is the reason why they are more effeminate, more indolent, more weak, and unhappily more fit for slavery. Besides, their intellectual faculties being nearly exhausted, by the excesses of sensual pleasures, they have neither memory nor understanding to supply by art the deficiency of their strength. Their hair, it is said, is curled, because, having to penetrate through a net-work of a more dense and tenacious substance, it becomes twisted and cannot be lengthened out. The sweat of the negroes diffuses a strong and disagreeable odour, because it is impregnated with that thick and rancid grease which hath been long lodged, and slowly oozes out between the cuticle and the skin. This substance is so palpable, that one may distinguish in it with a microscope a sediment formed in little blackish globules. Hence the perspiration of a negroe, when it is copious, tinges the linen cloth which wipes it off. One of the inconveniences of this black colour, an emblem of the night which confounds all objects, is, that the negroes have been obliged, in order to be known at a distance, to slash themselves,

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and mark their skin with different colours. This custom is general, especially among the wandering tribes of this people. As we find it, however, established among the savages of Tartary and Canada, it may be doubtful whether the practice does not rather arise from their roving way of life, than from the colour of their complexion.

ANATOMY hath gone further, and discovered the origin of the blackness of negroes in the source of generation. Nothing more it should seem would be necessary in order to prove, that negroes are a particular species of men. For if any thing discriminates the species, or the classes in each species, it is certainly the difference of the semen. The colour of the negroes, is, therefore, falsely supposed to be owing to the climate, since in Africa, under the same parallels, the eastern coast has no negroes, and even produces white people, and notwithstanding the heat and soil of it, no negroes have ever been born in that country.

THOUGH it should be allowed, that the western coast of Africa is the hottest region of the whole globe, the only inference to be deduced from this, would be, that that there are climates proper only to certain species, or certain species adapted to particular climates; but not that the difference of climates could change the same species from white to black. The sun has not the power of altering and modifying the germina of reproduction. White people never become black in Africa, nor negroes white in America. An union indeed between the sexes of these two species, produces the mestees, who partake equally of the colour, features, and complexion of both. If man was originally white, it must be supposed, that having been created nearer to the frigid than to the torrid zone, he peopled the earth successively from the poles to the equator: whilst, on the contrary, the fertility of the
globes

globes between the tropics, is a presumption, that it has been peopled from the equator to the poles.

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THE climate inhabited by the negroes, exhibits no variations but such as may be occasioned by sands or morasses: The almost insupportable heat of their days, is succeeded by very cool and refreshing nights, with this difference only, that they are less so in the rainy seasons than in the times of drought. The dew, less profuse under a cloudy sky than under a serene horizon, is undoubtedly the cause of this singularity.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far Soil of
as Senegal, the land is totally barren. Some Arabs, the Guinea.
descendants of those who conquered Barbary, and some Moors, the ancient inhabitants of the country lead a miserable wandering life amidst those burning and dry sands, which, at length, are lost in the vast solitudes of Sahara.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, and those of some less considerable rivers, which, in that long space that intervenes between these principal rivers, exhibit proofs of the greatest fertility. Maize grows there without much cultivation, as well as all the fruits that are natural to America; and the care of flocks constitutes almost the sole employment of the inhabitants. They prefer mare's milk, which is their principal nourishment, and travel but little; because they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

THE inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every side by sands, form a nation entirely separated from the rest of Africa. In the rice of their marshes consists all their nourishment and their sole riches. Of this they sell a small quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM

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FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river of Volta, the inhabitants are traders and husbandmen. They are husbandmen, because their land, though stony, abundantly requites the necessary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, because they have behind them nations which furnish them with gold, copper, ivory, slaves, and because nothing obstructs a continued communication between the people of the country and those of the coast. It is the sole country in Africa, where, in a long space, there are no desarts or deep rivers, to obstruct the traveller, and where water and the means of subsistence may be found

BETWEEN the river of Volta and the river of Calbary, the coast is flat, fertile, populous and cultivated. This is not the condition of the country which extends from Calbary to Gabon. Almost totally covered with thick forests, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be said to be rather inhabited by wild beasts than by men. Though the rains are there very frequent and copious, as they must be under the Equator, the land is so sandy, that immediately after the showers are fallen, there remains not the least appearance of moisture.

To the south of the Line, and as far as Zaire, the coast presents an agreeable prospect. Low at its beginning, it gradually rises, and exhibits a scene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods, always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

FROM Zaire to Coanza, and still farther, the coast is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the soil of which is composed of a large, thick and fertile sand.

A little beyond Coanza, a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues extant, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long space, there

there are no inhabitants known, except the Cimbebes, ^{B O O K.}
with whom no intercourse is kept up. ^{XI.}

THE varieties, observable on the shores of the west of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very rare, and, perhaps, a singular advantage. On this immense coast, those tremendous rocks are no where seen, which are so alarming to the navigator. The sea is universally calm, the wind regular, and the anchorage secure. Several excellent havens are here to be met with, where the mariner unmolested may pursue the labours which the refitting of large ships require.

THE winds and currents, during six months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the same direction. To the south of the line, the south-east wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-east. During the six other months, storms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the same violence: the spring of the air seems to be relaxed. The cause of this change appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line, they tend to the south-west, beyond the line to the south.

VAGUE conjectures can only be formed with regard to Government, every thing which respects the interior parts of Africa; but it is a fact, well authenticated, that throughout the whole extent of the coast the government is arbitrary. Whether the despotic sovereign ascends the throne by right of birth, or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

BUT what will seem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obstructs the tranquility of elective governments, and the prosperity of all free states, is, that, in Africa, the countries which are the least liable to revolutions, are those,

BOOK those, which have preserved the right of electing their chiefs.

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This is usually an old man, whose wisdom is generally known. The manner, in which this choice is made, is very simple; but it is only suited to very small states. In three days the people, by mutual consent, meet at the house of that citizen who appears to them the most proper person to be their sovereign. If the suffrages are divided, he who has obtained the greatest number of them, names on the fourth day one of those who have had fewer voices than himself. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even some tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

SUCH is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the formation of that little group of states which are to the north of the Line. To the south we meet with Mayumba and Cilongo, where chiefs are admitted among the ministers of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female side, that is, the eldest son of the king's eldest sister inherits the throne, when it becomes vacant. These people believe, that a child is much more certainly the son of his mother, than of the man whom she marries: they trust rather to the time of delivery which they see, than to that of conception, of which they are not witnesses.

THESE nations live in a total ignorance of that art so revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to observe some of its formalities and decorum. The custom of sending embassies is familiar to them, whether to solicit aid against a powerful enemy, or to request a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their successes, upon a birth, or a shower after a great drought. The envoy must never stay longer than a day at the place of his mission;

nor

nor travel during the night in the states of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his character, and he is accompanied by five or six friends. In those places, where he stops to refresh himself, he is received with respect; but he cannot depart before the sun rises, and without the ceremony of his host assembling some persons to witness that no accident hath happened to him. In other respects, they are strangers to any negotiations that are in the least complicated. They never enter into any stipulations for the past, nor for the future; but confine themselves wholly to the present. Hence we may conclude, that these nations cannot have regular or settled connections with the other parts of the globe.

THEIR system of war is as little complicated as their politics. Neither of the governments retain troops in pay. Every free man is by condition a soldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excursions in quest of booty. The officers are chosen by the soldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and most frequently the hostilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At least, the incursion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of subsistence obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to these people, if they were acquainted with the art of keeping the field fifteen days together.

THE desire of extending their territories is not the cause of the disturbances which frequently throw these countries into confusion. An insult committed in a ceremony, a clandestine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter; these are the ordinary occasions of a war. The day after the battle, each side redeems their respective prisoners. They are exchanged for merchandise, or for

BOOK for slaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, **XI.** the whole entirely belongs to the community, whose chief fixes the extent which every person is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

THE manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little states, whose chiefs are too wise to aspire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to these principles with neighbours much weaker than themselves. The sovereign has never any standing militia, and though he disposes at pleasure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he prescribes them no rules of administration. These are petty princes who for fear of being suspected of ambition and punished with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which surround them. Unanimity between the more considerable powers and the lesser states, is preserved as much by the immense authority the prince hath over his subjects, as by the impossibility there is of his exerting it as he pleases. He can strike but one blow at once. He may, indeed, give orders that his lieutenant should be assassinated, and the whole province will strangle him at his command; but were he to order all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, no one would obey him; and his will would not suffice to arm another province against that. His power against individuals is unlimited; but he can do very little against the whole collective body.

ANOTHER reason which prevents small states from being enslaved by great ones, is, that these people annex no idea to the glory of conquests. The only person, who appears to have been animated with it, was a slave-broker, who, from his infancy, had frequented the European vessels, and who, in his riper years, had made a voyage

voyage to Portugal. Every thing he saw and heard, fired ^{BOOK} his imagination and taught him that a great name was ^{XI.} frequently acquired by being the cause of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himself greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people less enlightened than himself. His intrigues raised him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms against their neighbours. Nothing could oppose his valour, and his dominion extended over more than an hundred leagues of coast, of which Anambou was the center. At his death no body dared to succeed him: and all the supports of his authority ceasing at once, every thing resumed its former situation.

THE christian and Mohammedan religion seem to have taken possession of the two extremities of that part of the west of Africa, which is frequented by the Europeans. The musselmen of Barbary have carried their religious system to the people of the Cape de Verd islands, who have extended it still farther. In proportion as these religious opinions have been at a distance from their source, they have undergone so great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family maintained a different system. Excepting circumcision, which is universal, one would hardly imagine these people professed the same worship. This system does not penetrate beyond the cape of Monta, whose inhabitants have no communication with their neighbours.

WHAT the Arabs had done to the north of the Line, for the Coran, the Portuguese afterwards did to the south for the gospel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they established it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worship, which offered sure and easy means for the expiation of all crimes was perfectly agreeable to the taste

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taste of nations, whose religion did not afford them such comfortable prospects. If it was afterwards proscribed in several states it was owing to the excesses of those who propagated it, which drew upon it this disgrace. It hath even been totally disguised in the countries where it has been preserved ; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

THE coasts which are in the center between these have preserved some local superstitions, whose origin must be very ancient. They consist in the worship of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every person makes after his own fancy and for his own use, in the belief of auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are some superstitions more dangerous, I mean that blind confidence which they repose in the priests who are the ministers and promoters of them ; these have the sacred deposit of the national traditions : and pretend to prophecy. The correspondence which they are supposed to hold with the evil spirit makes them regarded as the supreme arbiters of the barrenness and fertility of the country. On this account the first fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have a social tendency, and conspire to render man more humane and peaceable.

THE different religions, which are spread through Africa, have not changed the manner of living ; because the influence of the climate there is so predominant, that opinions have but little effect upon their manners. The houses are always built of the branches of the palm-tree, most commonly of earth and covered with straw, osiers, or reeds. Their furniture consists solely of baskets, earthen pots, mats, which serve as beds, and calabashes, of which all their utensils are made. A girdle round the loins is their only apparel. They live on game, fish, fruit, rice, or on bread made of maize, ill-baked. Their
drink

drink is the wine of the Palm-tree. Arts are unknown BOOK
XI. amongst them. All their labours are confined to certain rustic employments. Scarce one hundredth part of their country is cultivated, and that in a very wretched manner, either by poor people, or by slaves, who, from their indolence and condition, have the greatest aversion from labour.

THERE is a greater variety in their manners than in their wants. On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handsome, if beauty consists in symmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modest, affable and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and their language is an indication of their bashfulness. The names of Zilia, Calypso, Fanny, Zama, which seem to be names of pleasure, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the softness and sweetness of which our organs are not susceptible. The men are of a proper size, their skin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleasing. The habit of taming horses and hunting wild beasts gives them an air of dignity. They do not easily put up with an affront, but the example of those animals they have reared, inspires them with boundless gratitude for a master who treats them with indulgence. It is impossible to find servants more attentive, more sober, and who have stronger attachments; but they do not make good husbandmen; because their body is not habituated to stoop and to bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

THE complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the east. The people of this climate are strong, but short. They have an air of strength, which is denoted by firm muscles; and the features of their faces are spread out, and have no expression. The figures impressed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increase their na-

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tural deformity. An ungrateful soil, which is not improvable by culture, hath forced them to have recourse to fishing, tho' the sea, which is almost impracticable by means of a bar that runs along the coast, seems to divert them from it. Thus repulsed, as it were, by the elements, they have sought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their subsistence by selling them salt. A spirit of traffic hath been diffused among them since the arrival of the Europeans; because ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are presented to them; and because more combinations are necessary to barter a slave for several sorts of merchandize, than to sell a bushel of salt. Besides, though they are well adapted to all employments where strength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal duties of domestic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their customs, according to which they are paid separately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompence is, perhaps, one of the best incentives to industry among all men. The wives of these mercantile negroes share all their labours except that of fishing. They have neither the amiableness, modesty, discretion nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have less sensibility. In comparing the two nations one would be tempted to imagine, that one is the lowest class of people in a polished and civilized city, and that the other hath enjoyed the advantages of a superior education. Their language strongly indicates their character. The accents of the one have an extreme sweetness, those of the other, are harsh and dry like the soil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleasures, resembles the furious transports of anger.

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Beyond the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, known under the general name of the golden coast, the people have a smooth skin, and of a dark black colour, their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling stature, but well-shaped, and they have a bashful countenance. Their faces tho' agreeable enough would be much more so, if the women were not used to scar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The basis of their creed is a metempsychosis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are transported, they shall return after their death, whether caused by the laws of nature or by their own hands, to their own country. This conviction constitutes their happiness; because they consider their country as the most delightful abode in the universe. This pleasing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reside in this climate, are treated with respectful civility, from a persuasion that they are come there to receive the recompence due to their conduct. This people have a disposition to cheerfulness not observable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have a ready conception, a solidity of judgment, principles of equity, seldom altered by circumstances, and a great facility of adapting themselves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial customs, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the same that had formerly obtained among them. The first vessel that landed finished its traffic before another would enter upon theirs. Each had its turn. The price fixed for one, was the same for all. It is but very lately that the nation hath been determined to avail itself of the advantages it might derive from the number of European nations frequenting its ports.

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THE people situated between the Line and Zaire, have all a great resemblance to one another. They are well made. Their bodies are less robust than those of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there are some marks on their faces, one never perceives any of those scars which are so shocking at first sight. Their food is simple, and their life frugal. They love ease and never labour beyond their strength. Their feasts are accompanied with military sports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they constituted the exercises of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amusements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to these public diversions. Assembled together in certain houses they spend the day in private, and no men are ever admitted into their society. The jealousy of distinction is the strongest passion of these people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the most trivial occurrences, they fly to their friends either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occasions visiting for three months. The funeral obsequies of a person of distinction continue sometimes two years. Those who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains about through the several provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed and no person departs, till the corpse is deposited in the tomb, with all the demonstrations of the deepest sorrow. So determined a taste for ceremony hath proved favourable to superstition, and superstition hath promoted a spirit of indolence. In these countries, the earth sufficiently fertile, without requiring much labour, is only cultivated by women, whom servitude or penury condemn to this drudgery. Men slaves, or free, men if poor, are employed in hunting and fishing.

ing, or are destined to augment the retinue of the great. BOOK
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 There is in this nation in general less equality between the two sexes than is found among their neighbours. Birth and rank here impart to some women the right of choosing a husband, whom they keep in the most extreme subjection. They have even the right, whenever they are dissatisfied with their choice, of condemning him to slavery; and it is to be imagined that they freely make use of this privilege, however humiliating it may be to the two sexes. For, what is that man, whom a woman can make her slave? He is good neither for her, nor for himself.

From Zaire to the river of Coanza, the ancient customs still remain; but they are blended with a confused mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elsewhere. It is probable that the Portuguese, who have large settlements in this country, and who were desirous of introducing the christian religion among them, had a greater intercourse with them than they had with other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been employed in nothing but their commerce.

THE reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that class which, in all countries, stamps the character of a nation. The inferior orders and slaves are farther removed from this resemblance, in proportion as they are debased or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. However, the most discerning inquirers have observed, that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties so distinguishable as we find in the states which are situated between the Elb and the Tiber, which are nearly of the same extent of country as the Niger and the Coanza. The farther men depart from nature, the less must they

BOOK
 XI. resemble one another. The multiplicity of civil and political institutions necessarily throws into the moral character and into the natural habits, shades, which are unknown to societies less complicated. Besides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of morals to exert itself so strongly. Men there bear a greater similitude to one another, because they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extensive and diversified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes and several conditions of men, adds likewise to the differences which the climate, the laws and the common prejudices have established among active and laborious nations.

Ancient
 trade of
 Guinea.

IN Guinea, trade has never been able to cause a sufficient alteration in the manners of its inhabitants. It formerly consisted of certain exchanges of salt and dried fish, which were consumed by the nations remote from the coast. These gave in return stuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody substance, closely adhering to the inner side of the bark of a particular tree in these climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. They make them up in bonnets of different kinds, scarfs, aprons for their girdles, varying in shape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally used among the people, is extracted from the bark that makes this thread, by simple infusion in water. As this thread readily takes all colours, this hath induced them to form of it different figures of men, birds, and quadrupeds. The stuffs thus worked, serve to hang their
 apart-

apartments with, to cover their seats, and for other kinds of furniture. BOOK
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THE first Europeans, who frequented the western coasts of Africa, fixed a value on wax, ivory, and gum, which intrinsically they did not possess. They gave an estimation to gold, from which they drew at most three thousand marks a year. Their restless avarice, which has never been satisfied with this produce, made them frequently concert expedients to augment it. They flatter themselves, that their designs will soon be successful by the following scheme.

IN the interior parts of Africa, under the twelfth or thirteenth degree of north latitude, there is, says a modern traveller, a pretty large country, known by the name of Bambuck. It is not subject to a particular king, but governed by village lords, called Farims. These hereditary and independent chiefs are all obliged to unite for the defence of the state, when it is either attacked as a community, or only in any one of its members.

THE territory of this aristocratical state, is dry and barren. It produces neither maize, rice, nor vegetables. The insupportable heats it is subject to, proceed in part from its being surrounded by high mountains, which prevent the winds from refreshing the air. The climate is as unwholesome as it is disagreeable: vapours, which continually issue from the bowels of a soil replete with minerals, render living there dangerous, especially to strangers.

GOLD, which is abundant in this wretched country, had made it an object worthy of notice: gold, which in the eyes of the covetous man, seems to compensate for all the evils of nature, tho' in reality it increases them all. This metal is so common in this country, that it is found almost indiscriminately every where. To obtain it, some-

BOOK XI. times it is sufficient to scrape the surface of the earth, that is clayish, light, and mixed with sand. When the mine is very rich, it is dug only to the depth of a few feet, and never lower; though it has been observed, that the lower they went, the more gold the soil afforded. The miners are too indolent to pursue a toil which constantly becomes more tedious, and too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are in this instance so extraordinary, that in washing the gold, in order to separate it from the earth, they only preserve the larger pieces, the light parts pass away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

THE inhabitants of Bambuck do not work these mines at all times, nor is it left to them to do it when they please. They are obliged to wait till personal or public wants determine the Farims to grant this permission. When it is proclaimed, all who are allowed to profit from them, meet at the appointed place. When their work is finished, a division is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally distributed among the labourers. Those who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, go in search of it in the beds of the rivers, where it is very common.

THE French and English have successively cast an envious eye on these real and imaginary riches. Some thought they could be conveyed into this country by the Niger, others by the Salum. Far from having succeeded in their attempts of becoming masters of this country, they have not yet ascertained its existence. The unsuccessfulness of past efforts hath redoubled the activity of sanguine minds: sensible and judicious merchants have chosen to limit themselves to a commerce much more important, which is that of slaves.

THE

THE property which some men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally established there, excepting in some little districts, where liberty hath retired and concealed herself. No proprietor, however, has a right to sell a man who is born in a state of servitude. He can only dispose of those slaves whom he gets, whether by war, in which every prisoner is a slave unless exchanged, or in lieu of compensation for some injury; or if he hath received them as a testimony of acknowledgment. This law, which seems to be made in favour of one who is born a slave, to indulge him with the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, since the Europeans have established luxury on the coasts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually dissemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in persons born slaves, the disposal of whom is allowed by the sanction of the same law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to its ordinary progress, hath advanced from private persons to princes. Contentions have been multiplied in order to procure slaves, as war is excited in Europe in order to procure soldiers. They have established the custom of punishing with slavery not only those who have attempted the lives or properties of citizens, but those also who were incapable of paying their debts, and those who have violated conjugal faith. This punishment, in process of time, was inflicted for the most trivial misdemeanors, after having been at first reserved only for the greatest crimes. They have not ceased to multiply prohibitions of things indifferent, in order to increase the revenues raised from the fines by increasing the number of offences. Injustice hath not been contained within any limits or restraints. At a great distance from

BOOK
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New commerce of
Guinea, or
the slave
trade.

BOOK from the coast, there are chiefs, who give orders for
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every thing they meet with in the villages around them, to be carried off. The children are thrown into sacks : the men and women are gagged to stifle their cries. If the ravagers are stopped by a superior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always disowns the commission he has given, and under pretence of doing justice, instantly sells his agents to the ships he has treated with.

NOTWITHSTANDING these infamous arts, the people of the coast have found it impossible to supply the demands of the merchants. It has happened to them, what every nation must experience, which cannot trade but with its nominal stock. Slaves are to the commerce of Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on with the new world. The heads of the negroes represent the stock of the state of Guinea. Every day this stock is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of consumption. Their capital gradually vanishes, because it cannot be renewed, by reason of the speedy consumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long since have been entirely lost, if the inhabitants of the coasts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whom they now draw the greatest part of the slaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, has almost exhausted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

In the space of twenty years this circumstance hath raised the price of slaves almost to four times above the former cost : the reason is this. The payments they receive, consist chiefly of the merchandize of the East-Indies, which have doubled their value in Europe. A double quantity of these goods must be given in Africa. Thus the colonies

lonies of America, where the sale for blacks is concluded, BOOK
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are obliged to support these several augmentations, and consequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

THE distant proprietor, however, who sells his slave, receives less profit than the person received fifty years ago, who sold his slave in the neighbourhood of the coast. The profits intercepted by passing through different hands, the expences of transport, the imposts, sometimes of three *per cent.* that must be paid to those princes through whose territories they pass, sink the difference betwixt the sum which the first proprietor receives, and that which the European trader pays. These expences continually increase on account of the great distances of the places where there are still slaves to be sold. The further off this first sale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending travelling. They will become such, that of the sum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain so little to offer to the first seller, that he will rather choose to keep his slave. Then all trade of this kind will cease. In order, therefore, to support it effectually, our traders must purchase at an exorbitant price, and sell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to dispose of their produce but at an enormous price, will no longer find people to consume it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not so distant as the colonists imagine, they will quietly live on the blood and labours of the negroes. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchasing of them, and tyrants who will sell them.

Slave merchants are united by a mutual confederacy, and forming a species of caravans, in the space of two or three hundred leagues they conduct several files of thirty or forty slaves, all laden with water and corn which

are

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are necessary to their subsistence in those thirsty deserts through which they pass. The manner of securing them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniously devised. A fork of wood from eight to nine feet long is put round the neck of each slave. A pin of iron riveted secures the fork in such a manner that the head cannot disengage itself. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before and so embarrasses the person who is tied to it, that tho' he has his arms and legs free, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the slaves on the same line, and support and tie the extremity of each fork on the shoulder of the foremost slave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, up to the first, the extremity of whose fork is carried by one of the guides. Few restraints are imposed that are not felt by the persons who impose them. In order that these traders may enjoy the refreshment of sleep without uneasiness, they tie the arms of every slave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to regain his liberty. These precautions have been found indispensable, because, if the slave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which secures to the proprietor the possession of his slave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is silent with regard to a slave and a trader who exercises the most contemptible of all professions.

GREAT numbers of slaves arrive together, especially when they come from distant countries. This arrangement is necessary, in order to diminish the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one voyage and another, which by this system of œconomy is already made too distant may become still greater by particular circumstances. The most usual are the rains, which
cause

cause the rivers to overflow, and trade to languish. The season most favourable to travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September, and it is from September to March, that the return of these slave traders produces the greatest plenty of this traffic on the coasts.

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THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the south and north of the line. The first coast, known by the name of Angola, hath but three ports, open indifferently to all nations; these are Cabenda, Loango, Malemba, and two, of which the Portuguese are the sole masters, St. Paul de Loando, and St. Philip de Benguela. These latitudes nearly supply one third of the blacks that are carried to America, who are neither the most intelligent, nor the most laborious, nor the most robust. The second coast, known by the general name of the Gold Coast, has more roads, but they are not equally favourable to commerce. The restraint which the European forts have laid in several places, drives away the dealers in slaves. They are to be met with in much larger numbers at Anambou and Calbary, where business is transacted with the utmost liberty.

Account of
the places,
and man-
ner in
which the
slave trade
is carried
on.

IN 1768 there were exported out of Africa 104,100 slaves. The English have exported 53,100 for their islands; their colonists on the north continent carried away 6300; the French 23,500; the Dutch 11,300; the Portuguese 8700; and the Danes 1200. All these wretches did not arrive at the place of their destination. In the ordinary course of things, the eighth part must have perished in their passage. Every nation hath employed in its colonies such cultivators of land as it hath purchased. Great-Britain only has ceded four thousand of them to the Spaniards, and smuggled about three thousand in the French settlements.

BOOK It would be a very great mistake to imagine, that
XI. America regularly receives the same number of negroes. Not to mention the considerable diminution in the number of expeditions to Guinea, on account of the war, the arrangements of the last peace have occasioned new lands to be cultivated, which required extraordinary supplies. The number of men must be reduced to sixty thousand, of which the African coasts are deprived every year. Supposing that each of these slaves costs on the spot three hundred livres, (*w*) those barbarous regions receive eighteen millions (*x*) for so horrid a sacrifice.

THE French merchant will exclaim, we doubt not, on the price to which slaves are here reduced. No one is ignorant that he purchases them much dearer; but it is likewise known that the English and the Dutch buy them up at a better price, because they are not reduced by the insufficiency of their Asiatic commerce and the imperfection of certain manufactures proper to the African trade, to pay, as the French merchant does, for a commission, freight, insurance, in order to draw from foreign ports certain merchandise, which it is impossible to do without. The Portuguese have still another advantage over these nations. They carry on their expeditions from Brazil; and their exchanges are generally made with the tobacco and brandy of their country; and they maintain an exclusive trade on the coasts, which are two hundred leagues long, and forty broad.

EXCEPTING the Portuguese, all nations pay for slaves with the same merchandise. These are sabres, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, hardware, woollen stuffs, especially East-India cottons, or those which are wrought in Europe, and coloured in the same manner. The people north of the line have adopted, instead of money, little

(*w*) 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

(*x*) 787,500*l.*

little white shells, which we import among them from the Maldives. South of the line, the European trade is without this object of exchange. There small pieces of straw stuff, eighteen inches long, and twelve broad, are used as marks of value. This real mark is only the fortieth part of an ideal value, which they call *piece*.

THIS word, from the time we have frequented Africa, is become the numerical term of all things that bear the greatest value. The price of each species of merchandise that we import there, is invariably fixed under the denomination of one, two, three or more pieces. Each piece, in its original value, is nearly worth a pistole, and for some time past, thirty-five or thirty-six pieces have been given for a negro, all taxes included. The greatest of them is the fee that must be given to the factor, who always mediates between the vender and the purchaser, whom it is of consequence to make a friend of, and who is become so much the greater, as the competition between the Europeans has increased, and the want of slaves has made him sensible of his importance. Another tax, which though asked under the name of a present, is no less an extorted tribute, is, that which must be paid to the prince and his chief officers, for the liberty of trading. The sum is in proportion to the size of the vessel, and it may be valued at three *per cent*.

THE European nations have been of opinion that it was conducive to the utility of their commerce, to form settlements on the coast of Africa. The Portuguese, who first traversed these immense regions, left every where the marks of their ambition, rather than of their wisdom. The weak and numberless colonies which they poured in, soon forgot a country, which had itself forgotten them. In time, there remained of these great conquests nothing but that vast space which extends from

B.O.O.K.
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Are forts
necessary
in order to
procure
slaves?

BOOK from Zara to cape Negro, from whence Brasil still draws its slaves. They have preserved too some isles of little consequence. Those which are situated at the west of Cape de Verd, produce salt, feed cattle, and serve as a place of refreshment for vessels going to the East-Indies. Prince's Island, and St. Thomas, which are at the entrance of the gulph of Gabon, supply navigators with fresh provisions, who, after leaving the gold coast, sail to America. They are both totally disregarded in the commercial world.

THOUGH Portugal, even in the earliest times, derived but very moderate advantages from the coasts of Africa, it was yet so jealous of the sovereignty which it exercised there, in virtue of its discovery, that it thought no nation had a right to approach them. The English, who first ventured to question the right of these pretensions, about the year 1553, sustained the affront of having their vessels seized. A national war immediately ensued, and the superiority of arms put a final period to this tyranny. In process of time, the exclusive companies of England, who had embarked in this trade, successively formed factories without number, of which that of cape Corse, situated on the gold coast, and that of James, placed in an island, at the mouth of the river Gambia, were for a considerable time the principal and the most useful. Though many of them had been abandoned, there still remained sixteen, when the parliament, roused by the public clamour, determined in 1752, to put a stop to this monopoly. The nation purchased of the proprietors all these fortified magazines, for the sum of 1,523,198 livres, 13 sols, (y) where there were no more than one hundred and twenty men. The expence of maintaining them amounts annually to about 292,500 livres. (z)

THE

(y) 66,639*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

(z) 12,726*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

THE English almost entirely engrossed the Afri-BOOK
can trade, when the Dutch, in 1637, undertook to share it with them. The war they were carrying on against Spain, authorised them to attack the Portuguese settlements in Guinea; and they made themselves masters of most of them in a very short time. The treaty of 1641, secured the property of them to the republic. This state, pretending to enter into all the rights of the first possessor, intended to exclude her rival from these latitudes, and ceased not to molest her till the peace of Breda. Of all these conquests, that of fort Mina, on the gold coast, was found the most important. It had been built in 1452, by the Portuguese, who had enriched its territory by planting sugar-canes, maize, different kinds of excellent fruits, and had supplied it with a number of useful animals, which they had imported thither. They drew from thence much gold and some slaves. This settlement did not degenerate in the hands of the Hollanders, who made it the center of all the factories they had acquired, and of all the business they carried on in Africa.

THE prosperity of the Dutch, in this part of the world, was at its height, when they were attacked by Lewis the XIVth. This prince, who aspired after universal glory, seized an opportunity offered him by the war of 1672, of extending the terror which his flag carried with it on all the seas, even to the borders of Africa. He took from the Dutch the forts of Arguin and Portendic, which were at that time the general market for gum. His subjects afterwards established on the coast several posts which were obliged to be abandoned, either because they were injudiciously chosen, or because they wanted strength to maintain them. Since the time that France, by a series of errors and misfortunes, hath

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found herself under a necessity of giving up Senegal to the English by the last treaty, she hath nothing now remaining but the factory of Juida, and the island of Gorée, where there is not, nor ever will be any trade. Some years ago, a settlement that would have been of advantage to Anambou, began to be formed, when the workmen were driven away by cannon-shot fired in a time of full peace, by the ships of Great Britain. An able merchant, who was then at London, at the news of this outrage, expressed his astonishment at a conduct so imprudent. Sir, said a minister to him, who was in great favour with this intelligent people, *if we were to be just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer.*

THE Danes, who settled in Africa a little after the middle of the last century, and who purchased of the king of Aquambo the two forts of Fredericksburg and Christiansburg, situated on the golden coast near each other, never experienced a similar treatment. They owed the tranquility which they enjoyed to the insignificance of the trade they carried on. It was in so low a state, that they only fitted out a single vessel every two or three years. This trade hath been extended for some time past, but it is still far from being considerable.

If we except the Portuguese, all the European nations subjected their African trade to exclusive charters. The companies in possession of this monopoly, the errors of which all governments at last have felt and put a stop to, fortified their factories, both in order to drive away strangers, and to oblige the natives to sell to none but themselves. When the districts, in which these forts were erected, had no more slaves to deliver trade languished, because the people in the inland countries preferred the conveying their slaves into free ports, where they might chuse the purchasers. Thus the facto-

ries,

ries, which had been of such utility when the coast was ^{BOOK} populous, are no longer so valuable, since the ^{XI.} factors of them are obliged to make long voyages, in order to complete their purchase. The advantage of these establishments was lost, when the object of their commerce was exhausted.

The difficulty of procuring slaves naturally points out ^{In the slave} the necessity of employing small ships for carrying them ^{trade small} off. At a time when a small territory, adjacent to the ^{vessels are} coast, furnished in fifteen days, or three weeks, a whole ^{preferable} cargo, it was prudent to employ large vessels, because ^{to great} there was a possibility of understanding, looking after, and comforting the slaves, who all spoke the same language. Now that each ship can scarce procure sixty or eighty slaves a month, brought from the distance of two or three hundred leagues, exhausted by the fatigues of a long journey, embarked to remain five or six months in sight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the destiny that awaits them, struck with the prepossession that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneasiness alone kills them, or occasions disorders which become contagious by the impossibility of separating the sick from the healthy. A small ship destined to carry two or three hundred negroes, by means of the short stay it makes on the coast, avoids half the accidents and losses which a ship capable of holding five or six hundred slaves is exposed to. Thus the English, who have extended this commerce as far as possible, have adopted the custom of sending only vessels of an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty tons into the seas which extend from Senegal to the river Volta, and to fit out vessels a little larger only for Colabar, where the trade is more brisk, and where they make their principal cargoes. The French are the only people

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who obstinately adhere to the old mode. The town of Nantes, however, which alone carries on as much trade as all the other ports of the kingdom together, begins to get rid of its prejudices. It will undoubtedly entirely relinquish them; and all the merchants who conduct the same trade on their own bottoms, will follow its example.

There are
seasons
more or
less favou-
rable to the
slave trade.

THERE are abuses of the utmost consequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Those who engage in it commonly fall into two great mistakes. Dupes to a mercenary disposition, the privateers pay more regard to the port than to the dispatch of their vessels, a circumstance which necessarily prolongs the voyage, which every thing should induce them to shorten as much as possible. Another inconvenience still more dangerous, is, the custom they have of sailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the most proper season for arriving at these latitudes.

THIS bad practice hath given rise to the distinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the straightest and the shortest. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the most distant ports where there are slaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November; because, from the time of setting out to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is very possible to attempt it in December, January and February, but with less security and success.

SAILING is no longer practicable in these latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of August. One would have continually to struggle against the violent currents which run northward, and against the south-east wind, which constantly blows. Experience has taught

taught navigators, that during this season, they must keep at a distance from the shore, get into the open sea, sail towards the south as far as twenty-six or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Brasil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at an hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to windward of the port where they are to disembark. This route is two thousand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or an hundred days sail.

This great route, independent of its length, deprives them of the most favourable time for trade and for returning. The ships meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the provisions are spoiled, and the slaves are seized with the scurvy. Other calamities, not less fatal, often increase the danger that attends this expedition. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are subject to the small-pox, which, by a singularity very distressing, seldom breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagion affects a ship which is at her moorings, there are several known methods to lessen its violence. But a ship attacked by this distemper, that is on its way to America, often loses the whole cargo of slaves. Those who are born to the south of the Line, avoid this disease by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, whose malignity is more violent and more irritable on the sea, and which is never radically cured. Physicians ought, perhaps, to observe this double effect of the small-pox among the negroes, which is, that it favours those who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects sometimes afford occasion for the investigation of the causes of disorders, and for the discovery of remedies proper for them.

BOOK ^{XI.} **THOUGH** all the nations, concerned in the African trade, are equally interested in preserving the slaves in their passage, they do not all attend to it alike. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a small quantity of rice; but they differ in other respects in their manner of treating them.

THE English, Dutch and Danes keep the men constantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the small number of hands they have on board their ships obliges them to this severity. The French, who have greater numbers of men, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. Both nations, especially the English, are too negligent with regard to the intercourse between their sailors with the women slaves. The effects of this occasion the death of three-fourths of those whom the Guinea voyage destroys every year. None, but the Portuguese, during their passage, are secured against revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a consequence of the care they take to man their vessels only with negroes, to whom they have given their freedom. The slaves encouraged by the discourse and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the destiny that awaits them. The quietness of their behaviour induces the Portuguese to grant the two sexes the happiness of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other vessels, would be productive of the greatest inconveniences.

It is a generally received opinion, that the blacks, who are brought from America, are now sold at a higher price than they were formerly. This is a mistake, arising from this circumstance, that the purchaser pays attention only to the number of those arbitrary marks of value which he gives, instead of reckoning the quantity
of

of those commodities he delivers in exchange. This ^{BOOK} proportion, which is the only exact one, will make him ^{XI.} sensible that the price of negroes hath not advanced; since they are purchased with the same quantity of those commodities as they were in the earliest times. It is the value of money that hath changed, and not that of the unhappy slave.

ALL nations do not sell their slaves in the same way. Manner of
The Englishman, who hath promiscuously bought up ^{selling the} whatever presented itself in the general market, sells his ^{slaves in} cargo by wholesale. A single merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they do not like is sent into foreign colonies, either by smuggling, or with permission. The cheapness of a negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchase, than the badness of his constitution is to deter him from it. They will one day be convinced of the absurdity of such a conduct. ^{America.}

The Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danes, who have no way of disposing of the decayed and weakly slaves, never charge themselves with them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made in ready money, or for credit, according to the circumstances. When the term is fixed for eighteen months, as it happens but too often in the French colonies, the negro's labour must by that time have brought in two-thirds of the price paid for him. If that does not always happen, it is owing to particular reasons, the detail of which would be superfluous.

IN America it is generally believed and asserted, that Wretched the Africans are equally incapable of reason and of vir- ^{condition} tue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable ^{of the} us to judge of this opinion. ^{slaves.}

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AN English ship that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the surgeon behind them, whose bad state of health did not permit him to continue at sea. Murray was then endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch vessel drew near the coast, put the blacks in irons, whom ^{their} curiosity had brought to the shore, and instantly sailed off with their booty.

Those who interested themselves for these unhappy people, incensed at so base a treachery, instantly ran to Cudjoc, who stopped them at his door, and asked them what they were in search of. *The white man, who is with you,* replied they, *who should be put to death, because his brethren have carried off ours. The Europeans,* answered the generous host, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them, whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my house is his fortress; I am his soldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you shall pass over my body. O my friends, what just man would ever enter my doors, if I had suffered my habitation to be stained with the blood of an innocent man?* This discourse appeased the rage of the blacks: they retired ashamed of the design that had brought them there; and some days after acknowledged to Murray himself, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occasioned them perpetual remorse.

THIS event renders it probable, that the first impressions which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this observation: those who fall to the share of an humane master, willingly espouse his interests. They insensibly adopt the spirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is sometimes exalted even into heroism. A Portuguese

guese slave, who had fled into the woods, having learnt BOOK
XI. that his old master had been taken up for an assassination, came into the court of justice, and acknowledged himself guilty of the fact; let himself be put in prison in lieu of his master; brought false, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and suffered death instead of the guilty person. Actions of a less heroical nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of some colonists. Several would readily say as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the salutation of a black: *I should be very sorry that a slave should be more polite than myself.*

BUT there are barbarians, who looking upon pity as a weakness, are delighted with holding the rod of tyranny always over the head of their dependents. Thanks be to heaven, they receive their punishment in the negligence, infidelity, desertion, and suicide of the deplorable victims of their insatiable avarice. One sometimes sees these wretches, those of Mina especially, boldly put an end to their lives, under the firm persuasion, that they shall immediately after death rise again in their own country, which they look upon as the finest in the world. A vindictive spirit furnishes others with resources still more fatal. Instructed from their infancy in the arts of poisons, which grow, as it were, under their hands, they employ them in the destruction of the cattle, the horses, the mules, the companions of their slavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppressors. In order to remove from themselves all suspicion, they first exercise their cruelties on their wives, their children, their mistresses, and on every thing that is dearest to them. In this dreadful purpose, that can only be the result of despair, they take the double pleasure of delivering their species from a yoke more dreadful

BOOK XI. **ful** than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched state of misery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of punishment does not check them. They are scarce ever known to have any kind of foresight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof against tortures. By means of one of those inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people, whether civilized or not, negroes though naturally cowards, give many proofs of an unshaken firmness of soul. The same organisation which subjects them to servitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inspires them with vigour and unparalleled resolution for extraordinary actions. They are poltroons all their life-time and heroes for an instant. One of these wretches has been known to cut his wrist off with the stroke of an hatchet, rather than purchase his liberty, by submitting to the vile office of an executioner.

NOTHING, however, is more miserable than the condition of a black, throughout the whole American Archipelago. A narrow, unwholesome hut, without any conveniences, serves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put his body in pain than to afford it any ease. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden dishes, are his furniture. The coarse linen which covers part of his body, neither secures him from the insupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is supplied with, is cassava, salt beef, cod, fruits, and roots, which are scarce able to support his miserable existence. Bereaved of every thing, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, constantly under the rod of an unfeeling master.

THE condition of these slaves, though every where deplorable, is something different in the colonies. Those
who

who have very extensive estates, generally give them a BOOK
XI.
portion of land, to supply them with the necessaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the Sunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they spare from the time allotted for their meals. In the smaller islands, the colonist himself furnishes their food, the greatest part of which hath crossed the seas. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into some colonies, a method of providing for the subsistence of negroes, equally destructive both to the men and the plantation. They allow them on Saturday, or some other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the rest of the week.

Besides these differences arising from the particular situation of the settlements in the American islands, each European nation hath a manner of treating slaves peculiar to itself. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portuguese, the instruments of their debaucheries; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice; the English, who easily derive their subsistence from their estates on the northern continent, are less attentive to the management of them than any other nations. If they never promote intermarriages among the blacks, they yet receive with kindness, as the gifts of nature, those children that are the produce of less restrained connections, and seldom exact from the fathers or mothers a toil or a tribute above their strength. Slaves, by them, are considered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be used, nor destroyed without necessity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never smile upon them, nor speak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them suspect, that nature could have given any one mark of resemblance betwixt them and their slaves.

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slaves. This makes them hate the English. The French, less haughty, less disdainful, consider the Africans as a species of moral beings; and these unhappy men, sensible of the honour of seeing themselves almost treated like rational creatures, seem to forget that their master is impatient of making his fortune, that he always overworks them, and frequently lets them want subsistence.

THE opinions of the Europeans have also some influence on the condition of the negroes of America. The protestants, who are not actuated by a desire of making proselytes, suffer them to live in Mohammedanism, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be a wrong thing to keep *brethren in Christ* in a state of slavery. The catholics think themselves obliged to give them some instruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptism, which is wholly useless and unnecessary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, as they say, they are accustomed in this life.

EVERY thing renders them insensible to the dread of future punishment, both the torments of their slavery and the disorders to which they are liable in America. They are particularly subject to two diseases, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their stomach. The first effect of this last disorder is, to turn their skin and complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, and they are oppressed with such a sleep that they cannot resist: they faint, and are incapable of the least exercise. It is a languor, and a total relaxation of the whole machine. In this situation they are in such a state of despondency, that they suffer themselves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholesome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is salted or spiced. Their legs swell, their breath is obstructed,

obstructed, and few of them survive this disorder. The BOOK greatest part die of suffocation, after having suffered and XI. languished for several months.

THE thickness of their blood, which appears to be the source of these disorders, may proceed from several causes. One of the principal is undoubtedly the melancholy which must seize these men who are violently torn away from their country, who are fettered like criminals, find themselves all on a sudden on the sea, where they continue for two months or six weeks, and who, from the midst of a beloved family, pass under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the most dreadful punishments. A species of food, new to them, and disagreeable in itself, disgusts them in their passage. At their arrival in the islands, the food that is distributed to them, is neither good in quality, nor sufficient in quantity. To complete their wretchedness, several among them have contracted in Africa, the habit of eating a certain earth, which gratified their taste without any ways incommoding them: they seek for something that resembles this, and chance hath thrown in their way a soft stone of a deep yellow, which totally spoils their stomach.

THE yaws, which is the second disorder peculiar to negroes, discovers itself by blotches that are dry, hard, callous, and round, sometimes covered by the skin, but most commonly ulcerated, and sprinkled, as it were, with a whitish flower intermixed with yellow. The yaws have been confounded with the venereal disease, because the same remedy is proper for both. This opinion, though pretty general, has less to support it than at first sight it appears to have.

ALL the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the islands, have the yaws
once

BOOK XI. once in their lives : it is a disease they must necessarily
pass through ; but there is no instance of any of them
being attacked with it a second time, after having been ra-
dically cured. The Europeans seldom or never catch this
disorder, notwithstanding the frequent and daily connec-
tion which they have with the negro women. These wo-
men suckle the children, but do not give them the yaws.
How is it possible to reconcile these facts, which are in-
contestible, with the system which physicians seem to have
adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws ? Why
will it not be allowed, that the semen, the blood, and
skin of the negroes, are susceptible of a virus peculiar to
their species ? The cause of this disorder, perhaps, is
owing to that which occasions their colour : one difference
is naturally productive of another : and there is no being
or quality that exists absolutely detached from others in
nature.

BUT whatever this disorder may be, it is evident from the most accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the seventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thousand wretches, that are now in the European colonies of the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine millions of slaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful destruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the same as that of Africa, much less of the disorders, to which, in the opinion of all observers, but few fall a sacrifice. It must originate from the manner in which these slaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of slaves might be rendered more supportable.

THE first step necessary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral state of man. Those who go to purchase blacks on the coasts of savage nations; those who convey them to America, and especially those

those who direct their labours, often think themselves obliged, from their situation, and frequently too for the sake of their own safety, to oppress these wretched men. The soul of these managers of slaves, lost to all sense of compassion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but those of fear or severity, and these they exercise with all the harshness of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would cease to regard the care of their slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office, to which it is their duty to attend, they would soon discard these errors that arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all mankind would shew them, that in order to render slavery useful, one must at least make it easy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the master's interest that his slave should live, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

THIS principle of enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of several abuses. Men would acknowledge the necessity of lodging, cloathing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the most painful bondage that ever has existed since the infamous origin of slavery. They would be sensible, that it is naturally impossible, that those who reap no advantage from the sweat of their brows, can have the same understanding, the same oeconomy, the same activity, the same strength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which consists in lessening of labour, alleviating punishment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap more certainly the benefit of those offices that are imposed upon him. The preservation of a great number of slaves, whom disorders, occasioned by vexation or regret, deprive

BOOK XI. **XI.** deprive the colonies of, would be the natural consequence of so wise a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppresses them, every kind of attention should be given to make it sit-easy, to dissipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural taste that seems peculiar to the negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely sensible of the powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in their dances, the time of a song makes them leap up and come down a hundred at once, striking the earth at the same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of the singer, or the tone of a stringed instrument, a vibration of the air is the spirit that actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agitates, transports, and throws them into extasies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they sing, and seem always as if they were dancing. Music animates their courage, and rouses them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme sensibility to harmony, are visible in all the muscles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and musicians by nature, they make the words subservient to the music, by a licence they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or shortening them, in order to accommodate them to an air that pleases them. Whenever any object or incident strikes a negro, he instantly makes it the subject of a song. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the singer and the general chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular, is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for hours together :

together : neither they, nor even the white men, are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness, promote rather a kind of languor. Even those which are most lively, carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.

So strong an inclination for music might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of skilful hands. Festivals, games and rewards might on this account be established among them. These amusements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that stupidity so common among slaves, ease their labours, and preserve them from that constant melancholy which consumes them, and shortens their days. After having provided for the preservation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of those who are born in the islands themselves would then be considered.

The negroes are not averse from the propagation of their species even in the chains of slavery. But it is the cruelty of their masters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a short time after delivery. Mothers, rendered desperate by the punishments which the weakness of their condition occasions them, snatch sometimes their children from the cradle, in order to strangle them in their arms, and sacrifice them with fury mingled with a spirit of revenge and compassion, that

BOOK they may not become the property of their cruel masters.
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This barbarity, the whole horror of which must be imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, make them sensible of their error. Their sensibility will be roused by paying a greater attention to their true interests. They will learn that they lose more than they get, by committing such outrages against humanity; and if they do not become the benefactors of their slaves, they will at least cease to be their executioners.

They will, perhaps, resolve to set free those mothers who shall have brought up a considerable number of children to the age of six years. The allurements of liberty are the most powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women, animated by the hope of so great a blessing, to which all would aspire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be succeeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whose number and preservation would secure to them freedom and tranquillity.

AFTER having taken wise measures not to deprive their plantations of those succours arising from the extraordinary fruitfulness of the negro women; they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to establish this easy and natural system.

THERE are some powers, whose settlements in the American isles, every day acquire extent, and there are none whose manual labour does not continually increase. These lands, therefore, constantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of their colonies, gradually furnishes them with fewer men, and supplies them at the same time with worse slaves, and at a dearer

a dearer rate. This source for the obtaining slaves, BOOK
XI. will be gradually more and more exhausted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it seems to be not far distant, it is nevertheless certain that a great number of slaves, drawn out of a remote region, perish in their passage, or in the new world; and that when they come to America they fetch a very high price; that there are few of them whose term of life is not shortened; and that the greater part of those who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accustomed from their infancy to idleness, are frequently very unfit for the employments to which they are destined, and are in a continual state of despondency, on account of their being separated from their country. If we are not mistaken in our opinion, cultivators born in the American islands themselves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what consists in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed with a sufficient share of understanding, or a singular aptitude for all the useful arts; such cultivators cannot but be preferable to slaves that have been sold and live in a perpetual exile and restraint.

THE method of substituting in the place of foreign negroes those of the colonies themselves, is very obvious. It wholly consists in superintending the black children that are born in the islands, in confining to their work-houses that multitude of slaves, who carry about with them their worthlessness, their licentiousness, and the luxury and insolence of their master, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coasts, that they should form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during some

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years,

BOOK years, in order to reduce that disproportion which obtains between the two sexes.

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THIS last precaution, by putting the pleasures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their ease and multiplication. These unhappy men; forgetting the weight of their chains, would, with transport, see themselves live again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to those negro women whom love and slavery have assigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compassion which the wretched mutually derive from one another even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they sympathize, at least, with them, when, through excess of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breast that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no restrictions of chastity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconstant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

THOSE who have inquired into the causes of this taste for black women, which appears to be so depraved in the Europeans, have found it to arise from the nature of the climate, which under the torrid zone irresistibly excites men to the pleasures of love; the facility of gratifying this insurmountable inclination without restraint, and without the trouble of a long pursuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, discoverable in black women, as soon as custom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of constitution, which gives them the power of inspiring and returning the most ardent transports. Thus they revenge them-

themselves, as it were, for the humiliating despondence of their condition, by the violent and immoderate passions which they excite in their masters; nor do our ladies, in Europe, possess in a more exalted degree the art of wasting and running out large fortunes than the negro women. But the African women have the superiority over the European, in the real passion they have for the men who purchase them. The happy discovery and prevention of conspiracies that would have destroyed all their oppressors by the hands of their slaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of these negro women. The double tyranny of these unworthy usurpers of the estates and liberty of so many people, deserved, doubtless, such a punishment.

We will not here so far demean ourselves as to enlarge the ignominious list of those writers who devote their abilities to justify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where so many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is interesting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath seemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of slavery, the reason is, that it was first necessary to give some comfort to those unhappy beings, whom we cannot set free; and convince their oppressors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real interests. But, in the mean time, until some great revolution makes the evidence of this great truth felt, it is proper to go on with the subject. We shall then first prove, that there is no reason of state that can authorise slavery. We shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice those governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.

BOOK
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entirely
contrary to
humanity,
reason and
justice.

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MONTESQUIEU could not resolve with himself to treat seriously the question concerning slavery. In reality it is degrading reason to employ it, I will not say in defending, but even in refuting an abuse so repugnant to it. Whoever justifies so odious a system, deserves the utmost contempt from a philosopher, and from the negro a stab with his dagger.

If you touch me, said Clarissa to Lovelace, that moment I kill myself; and I would say to him, who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if you approach me, I will stab you. In this case, I should reason better than Clarissa; because, defending my liberty, or, which is the same thing, my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of another, is only a secondary consideration; and if all other circumstances were the same, the death of a criminal is more conformable to justice than that of an innocent person.

WILL it be said, that he who wants to make me a slave does me no injury, but that he only makes use of his rights? Where are those rights? Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character as to silence mine? From nature I hold the right of self-defence; nature, therefore, has not given to another the right of attacking me. If thou thinkest thyself authorized to oppress me, because thou art stronger and more ingenious than I am; do not complain if my vigorous arm shall plunge a dagger into thy breast; do not complain, when in thy tortured entrails thou shalt feel the pangs of death conveyed by poison into thy food: I am stronger and more ingenious than thou: fall a victim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime of having been an oppressor.

HE who supports the system of slavery is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins; the oppressors and the oppressed.

It

It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, If you **BOOK**
would preserve your life, instantly take away mine, for **XI.**
I want to have yours.

BUT the right of slavery, you say, extends only to the right of labour and the privation of liberty, not of life. What! does not the master, who disposes of my strength at his pleasure, likewise dispose of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper use of my faculties? What is existence to him, who has not the disposal of it? I cannot kill my slave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with sorrows, drudgery and want; I can injure him every way, and secretly undermine the principles and springs of his life; I can smother, by slow punishments, the wretched infant, which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the slave against a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.

LET us proceed a step further: the right of slavery is that of perpetrating all sorts of crimes: those crimes which invade property; for slaves are not suffered to have any even in their own persons: those crimes which destroy personal safety; for the slave may be sacrificed to the caprice of his master: those crimes which make modesty shudder.—My blood rises at these horrid images. I detest, I abhor the human species, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

FURTHER, that I may not conceal any part of my sentiments on this subject. Cartouche, the highwayman, sitting at the foot of a tree in a deep forest, calculating the profits and losses of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his associates, and adjusting with them the ideas of proportion and distributive justice; this Cartouche is

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not a very different character from that of the privateer, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, settles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coasts of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will cost him, in order to support the war which is to furnish him with slaves; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard; how many whips to make him work: how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation; if the black woman will contribute more to his estate by the labours of her hands, or by those of bearing children?—What think you of this parallel?—The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money; the trader carries off even your person. The one invades the rights of society, the other, those of nature. This certainly is the truth; and if there existed a religion which authorised, which tolerated, even by its silence, such enormities; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious questions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance against the authors or instruments of this tyranny; if it made it criminal for a slave to break his bonds; if it did not expel the unjust judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if such a religion existed, its ministers ought to be massacred under the ruins of their altars.

BUT these negroes, say they, are a race of men born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority.

THE minds of the negroes are contracted; because slavery spoils all the springs of the soul. They are wicked; but not sufficiently so with you. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings; because we have abused their ignorance;

rance : they allow the justice of our authority ; because BOOK
XI. we have abused their weakness. I might as well say, that the Indians are a species of men born to be crushed to death ; because there are fanatics among them, who throw themselves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

BUT these negroes, it is further urged, were born slaves. Barbarians, will you persuade me, that a man can be the property of a sovereign, a son the property of a father, a wife the property of an husband, a domestic the property of a master, a negro the property of a planter ?

BUT these slaves have sold themselves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath permit another to use and abuse him ? If he assented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a transport of ignorance or folly ; and he is released from it the moment that he either knows himself, or his reason returns.

BUT they had been taken in war, What does this signify to you ? suffer the conqueror to make what ill use he pleases of his own victory. Why do you make yourselves his accomplices ?

BUT they were criminals condemned in their country to slavery. Who was it that condemned them ? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the despot.

THE subject of a despotic prince is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state, is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies : and all those who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the first lessons of obedience ; his neighbour, who set him the example of it ; his superiors, who compelled him into this state ; and his equals, who led him into it

by

BOOK by their opinion : all these are the ministers and instru-
XI. ments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of him-
 self; he is only the first mover of those efforts which all
 his subjects exert to their own mutual oppression. He
 keeps them in a state of perpetual war, which renders
 robberies, treasons, assassinations lawful. Thus, like
 the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate
 from his heart, and return thither as to their primary
 source. Caligula used to say, that if the whole human
 race had but one head, he should have taken pleasure in
 cutting it off. Socrates would have said, that if all
 crimes were heaped upon one head, that should be the
 one which ought to be struck off.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of rea-
 son and the sentiments of nature take place of the blind
 ferocity of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so
 many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even
 be obliged to discard a commerce which is founded only
 on injustice, and whose object is luxury.

BUT even this is not necessary. There is no occasion
 to give up those conveniencies which custom hath so
 much endeared to us. We may draw them from our
 colonies, without peopling them with slaves. These pro-
 ductions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and
 then be reaped without remorse.

THE islands are filled with blacks, whose fetters have
 been broken. They successfully clear the small planta-
 tions that have been given them, or which they have ac-
 quired by their industry. Such of these unhappy men,
 as should recover their independence, would live in quiet
 upon the same manual labours, that would then be free
 and advantageous to them. The vassals of Denmark,
 who have lately been made free, have not abandoned
 their ploughs.

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring BOOK
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subsistence without labour, on a soil naturally fertile, and of dispensing with the want of cloaths under a baring sky, would plunge these men in idleness? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themselves to such labours as are of indispensable necessity? Why do they exhaust their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the transient gratifications of a frivolous imagination? There are amongst us a thousand professions, some more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our institutions. Human laws have given rise to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwise would never have had an existence. By disposing of every species of property according to their capricious institutions, they have subjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, so far as even to make them sing and dance for a living. We have amongst us beings, formed like ourselves, who have consented to inter themselves under mountains, to furnish us with metals and with copper, perhaps to poison us: why do we imagine that the negroes are less dupes and less foolish than the Europeans?

At the time that we gradually confer liberty on these unhappy beings as a reward for their œconomy, their good behaviour, and their industry, we must be careful to subject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our superfluities. We must give to them a country, give them interests to study, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their respective tastes, and our colonies will never want hands, which being eased of their chains, will be more active and robust.

In order to overturn the whole system of slavery, which is supported by passions so universal, by laws so authentic, by the emulation of such powerful nations, by prejudices

BOOK judices still more powerful, to what tribunal shall we refer the cause of humanity, which so many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth, you alone can bring about this revolution. If you do not sport with the rest of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a successful plunder, and the obedience of subjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuse the sanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into so many herds of cattle, and this trade will cease. For once unite for the happiness of the world, those powers and designs which have been so often exerted for its ruin. If some one amongst you would venture to found the expectation of his opulence and grandeur on the generosity of all the rest, he instantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be destroyed. You may carry fire and sword into his territories: Your armies will soon be inspired with the sacred enthusiasm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who succour the oppressed, and mercenaries who serve tyrants.

BUT what am I saying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people and their masters: perhaps, they have never been consulted in any public transactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, interest alone can exert its influence over you, listen to me once more: Your slaves stand in no need either of your generosity or your counsels, in order to break the sacrilegious yoke of their oppression. Nature speaks a more powerful language than philosophy, or interest. Some white people; already massacred have expiated a part of our crimes; already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been established, to whom treaties and power give a perfect security from your attempts. . . . Poison hath at different

ferent times been the instrument of their vengeance. Several have included your oppression by a voluntary death. These enterprises are so many indications of the impending storm; and the negroes only want a chief, sufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and slaughter.

WHERE is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human species? Where is this new Spartacus, who will not find a Crassus? Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be dreadful, if the conqueror only regards the right of reprisals.

TILL this revolution takes place, the negroes groan under the yoke of oppression, the description of which cannot but interest us more and more in their destiny.

THE soil of the American islands hath little resemblance to ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except some pot herbs, nothing is sown there; every thing is planted.

Labours of
slaves.

TOBACCO being the first production that was cultivated, as its roots do not strike deep, and the least injury destroys them, a simple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choked it. This custom still prevails.

WHEN more troublesome cultures began to be attended to, which were more delicate, the hoe was made use of to work and to weed; but it is not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought sufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

THE inequality of the ground, most commonly full of hillocks, probably gave rise to this custom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, should destroy, by the cavities they make, the land that had

BOOK had been turned up. Indolence, and the want of means
 XI. at the time of the first settlements extended this practice to the most level plains, and custom gave a sanction to it; which no one ever thought of deviating from. At last some planters, who were adventurous enough to discard former prejudices, thought of using the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it shall be found practicable. It has every circumstance in its favour that can make it desirable.

ALL the lands of the islands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The first that were occupied, have for a long time yielded less produce than they did in the beginning. Those which have been successively cleared, are likewise more or less exhausted, in proportion to the period of this first cultivation. Whatever their fertility at first might have been, they all lose it in process of time, and they will soon cease to requite the labours of those who cultivate them, if art is not exerted to assist nature.

It is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturalists, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all those meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, such as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual labour can only procure this advantage to it: the islands in particular constantly require it. The wet season must be chosen for turning up the ground, the dryness of which would be an impediment to fertility. Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having shelling grounds destroyed by storms, by making furrows transversely on a line, that should cross that of the slope of the hillocks. If the declivity were so steep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithstanding the
 the

the furrows, small drains, something deeper, might be added, for the same purpose, at particular distances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the steepness of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

THE utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The islands are the regions of insects: their multiplication there is favoured by a constant heat, and one race succeeds another without interruption. The extensive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and successive ploughing would check the progress of this devouring race, disturb their reproduction, would kill great numbers of them, and destroy the greatest part of their eggs. Perhaps this expedient would not be sufficient against the rats which ships have brought from Europe into America, where they have increased to that degree, that they often destroy one third of the crops. The industry of slaves might also be made use of, and their vigilance might be encouraged by some gratification.

THE use of the plough would probably introduce the custom of manuring; it is already known in the greatest part of the coast. The manure there in use is called varech, a kind of sea plant, which when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the strand by the motion of the waves: it is very productive of fertility, but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the sugar a disagreeable bitterness, which must arise from the salts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in sea plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taste, it would only be necessary to burn the plant and make use of the ashes. The salts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and triturated by vegetation,

BOOK XI. tion, would circulate more freely in the sugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

THE interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Necessity will make this practice become more general; and in time the soil of America will be assisted by the same methods of cultivation as the soil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the islands where herds of cattle are not so numerous, and where there is seldom the convenience of stables, it is necessary to have recourse to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as possible, in order to compensate the quality by the quantity. The greatest resource will always be found in the weeds, from which useful plants must be constantly freed. These must be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The colonists who cultivate coffee, have set the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occasions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee trees, without regarding whether these weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the insects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

ALL the domestic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their settlements that the colonies of other nations have been supplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive best in countries abounding with aquatic productions, insects and reptiles, and are become larger and better tasted, all these animals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the islands are very small. Though the badness of the climate may contribute something to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cause. They always

always lie in the open field. They never have either bran BOOK
 or oats given them, and are at grass the whole year. XI.
 The colonists have not even the attention of dividing the
 meadows into separate portions, in order to make their
 cattle pass from one into the other. They always feed
 on the same spot, without allowing the grass time to spring
 up again. Such pastures can only produce weak and wa-
 tery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them
 from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, destined
 for the food of man, afford only flesh that is tough and
 flabby.

THOSE animals, which are reserved for labour, do
 but very little service. The oxen draw but light loads,
 and that not all day long. They are always four
 in number. They are not yoked by the head, but
 by the neck, after the Spanish custom. They are not
 stimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are
 directed by two drivers.

WHEN the roads do not allow the use of carriages,
 mules are used instead of oxen. These are saddled
 after a simpler method than in Europe, but much
 inferior to it in strength. A mat is fixed on their back,
 to which two hooks are suspended on each side, the first
 that are casually met with in the woods. Thus equipped,
 they carry, at most, half of what others carry; and do
 not go over half the ground.

THE pace of their horses is not so slow: they have pre-
 served something of the fleetness, fire, and docility of
 those of Andalusia, from which they derived their pe-
 digree, but their strength is not answerable to their spirit.
 It is necessary to breed a great number of them, in order
 to obtain that service from them which might be had from
 a smaller number in Europe. Three or four of them
 must be harnessed to very light carriages used by in-
 Vol. III. N dolent

BOOK doleant people for making excursions, which they call
XI. jourmics, but which with us would only be an airing.

THE degeneracy of the animals in the islands might have been prevented, retarded, -or diminished, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in some degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far superior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

IT is very extraordinary, that so simple an idea should never have occurred to any of the planters; and that there has been no legislature attentive enough to its interests to substitute in its settlements the bison to the common ox. Every body that is acquainted with this animal, must recollect that the bison has a softer and brighter skin, a disposition less dull and stupid than our bullock, and a quickness and docility far superior. It is swift in running, and when mounted can supply the place of a horse. It thrives as well in southern countries, as the ox that we employ loves the cold or temperate zones. This species is only known in the eastern islands, and in the greater part of Africa. If custom had less influence than it commonly has, even over the wisest governments, they would have been sensible, that this useful animal was singularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very easy to export it at a very small expence from the Gold Coast, or the coast of Angola.

Two rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally struck with the weakness of those animals, which, according to established custom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to substitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly tried

tried without success in Peru by the Spaniards, did not succeed better here, nor was it possible it should. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads excessive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning sky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

THE buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce disposition. Its caprices are sudden and frequent. Its skin is firm, light, and almost impenetrable, and its horn serviceable for many purposes. Its flesh is black and hard, and disagreeable to the taste and smell. The milk of the female is not so sweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, with which it has a striking resemblance, it greatly surpasses it in strength and swiftness. Two buffaloes, yoked to a waggon by means of a ring passed through their nose, will draw as much as four of the stoutest bullocks, and in less than half the time. They owe this double superiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more considerable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, because they naturally carry their neck and head low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, stronger, and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would be of great service in the Caribbees and propagate happily there. This is highly probable, especially since the successful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

INDOLENCE, and old established customs, which have hindered the propagation of domestic animals, have no less impeded the success of transplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been successively carried to the islands. Those that have not died, are some wild

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stocks, whose fruit is neither beautiful nor good. The greatest part have degenerated very fast, because they have been exposed to a very strong vegetation, ever lively, and constantly quickened by the copious dews of the night, and the strong heats of the day, which are the two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps, an intelligent observer would have known how to profit from these circumstances, and have been able to raise tolerable fruit; but such men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have succeeded better; if they are always springing again, always green, and mature; the reason is, that they have not to struggle against the climate, where they experienced a moist and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and because they required no trouble. The labour of the slaves is employed in the cultivation of more useful productions.

THE principal labours of these unhappy men, are directed towards those objects that are indispensable to the preservation of their wretched existence. Except in the islands that are occupied by the Spaniards, where things are very nearly in the same state as they were at the arrival of the Europeans in the new world, those productions, which were sufficient for the savages, have diminished in proportion as they have destroyed the forests, in order to form plantations. It was necessary to procure other subsistences, and the principal which ought to have been sought for have been drawn from the country itself of the new-comers.

AFRICA has furnished the islands with a shrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years, and is useful throughout its whole duration. It bears husks which contain five or six grains of a species of a very wholesome and very nourishing pea. Every part belonging to this shrub is remarkable for some particular virtue. Its blossom is good for a cough; its leaves when boiled

boiled are applied to wounds, and of the ashes of this plant is made a lixivium, which cleanses ulcers and dissipates the external inflammations of the skin. This shrub is called the Angola pea. It flourishes equally in lands naturally barren, and in those whose salts have been exhausted. For this reason, the best managers amongst the colonists never fail to sow it on all those parts of their estates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

THE most valuable present, however, which the islands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Most historians have considered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is supported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonstrated, the Caribbees would yet stand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invasions, the intercourse between the continent of America and these isles, was so trifling, that a production of the Terra Firma might be unknown in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the savages who offered our first navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribbees, in the center between Dominica and St. Vincent, had it from us; that the character of the savages did not render them fit to conduct so nice a culture; that it requires very open fields, and in the forests, with which these islands were overgrown, there were no clear and unincumbered spaces of ground above five and twenty toises square. In short, it is beyond a doubt, that the use of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes, and that from time immemorial it hath constituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

HOWEVER this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by slips. It is set in furrows that are five or

BOOK XI. **fix inches deep**, which are filled with the same earth that has been digged out. These furrows are at the distance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The shrub rises a little above six feet, and its trunk is about the thickness of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, and only a few remain towards the top; its wood is tender and brittle.

This is a delicate plant; whose cultivation is troublesome; and the vicinity of all sorts of grass is prejudicial to it. It requires a dry and light soil; its fruit is at its root, and if this root is shaken by the motion the wind occasions to the body of the plant, the fruit is formed but imperfectly. It takes eighteen months before it grows to maturity.

It is not rendered fit for human food till after it has undergone a tedious preparation. Its first skin must be scraped; it must be washed, rasped, and pressed, to extract the aqueous parts, which are a slow poison, against which there is no remedy known. The preparation causes every noxious particle it might still contain, totally to evaporate. When there appears no more steam, it is taken off the iron plate, on which it was prepared, and suffered to cool. Repeated experiments have shewn, that it was almost as dangerous to eat it hot as to eat it raw.

The root of the manioc grated, and reduced into little grains by boiling, is called flour of manioc. The paste of manioc is called cassava, which hath been converted into a cake by boiling it without stirring. It would be dangerous to eat as much cassava as flour of manioc, because the former is less boiled. Both keep a long time, and are very nourishing, but a little difficult of digestion. Though they seem at first insipid, there are a great number

ber of white people, who have been born in these islands, who prefer them to the best wheat. All the Spaniards in general, use it constantly. The French feed their slaves with it. The other European nations, who have settlements in the islands, are little acquainted with the manioc. It is from North America that these colonies receive their subsistence; so that if by any accident, which may very possibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted but for four months, they would be starved. An avidity that hath no bounds, makes the insular colonists insensible of this imminent danger. All, at least the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole industry of their slaves towards those productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of these are, cocoa, rocou, cotton, indigo, and coffee. We shall elsewhere speak of their cultivation, value, and destination. We shall at present consider only the cultivation of sugar, whose produce alone is more important than that of all the other commodities.

THE cane that yields the sugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly rises eight or nine feet, taking in the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its most ordinary thickness is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardish rind, which incloses a spongy substance. It is intersected at intervals with joints, that serve as it were to strengthen and support it; but without impeding the circulation of the sap, because these joints are soft and pithy in the inside.

THIS plant hath been cultivated from the earliest antiquity in some countries of Asia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it passed into the southern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards transplanted into Madeira and

BOOK the Canaries. From these islands it was brought into the
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new world, where it thrived as happily as if it had been an original native of it.

ALL soils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and strong, low and marshy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, insipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, and preserved. Canes planted in a ground where they soon meet with soft stone or rock, have but a very short duration, and yield but little sugar. A light, porous, and deep soil, is by nature most favourable to this production.

THE general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field; to make at the distance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and six deep; to lay in these, two, and sometimes three, slips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the slips issues a stem, which in time becomes a sugar-cane.

CARE should be taken to clear it constantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for six months. The canes then are sufficiently thick and near one another to destroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly suffered to grow eighteen months, and are seldom cut at any other time.

FROM the stock, of these issue suckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This second cutting yields only half of the produce of the first. The planters sometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always successively less, however good the soil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands for
 planting

planting afresh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane. BOOK
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THESE crops are not made in all the colonies at the same time. In the Danish, Spanish and Dutch settlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed season for the maturity of the sugar cane. This plant, however, like others, must have its progress; and it has been justly observed to be in flower in the months of November and December. It must necessarily follow, from the custom these nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops fourteen months without intermission, that they cut some canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requisite qualities. This harvest should have a fixed season, and probably the months of March and April are the fittest for it: nor do they prefer this time because they are then riper; but the drought which prevails in their islands renders the rains which fall in September necessary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the precise point of maturity.

In order to extract the juice of the cut canes, which ought to be done in four and twenty hours, otherwise it would turn sour, they pass them between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horses; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whose circumference meeting a current of water, receives an impression which turns it upon its axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water strikes the upper part

BOOK part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current
XI. strikes the lower part.

FROM the reservoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where those particles of water are made to evaporate that are most easily separated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up its first scum. When it hath lost its clammy consistence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more scum by means of an increased degree of heat. It then receives the last boiling in a fourth cauldron whose fire is three times stronger than the first.

THIS last fire decides the fate of the process. If it hath been well managed the sugar forms crystals that are larger or smaller, more or less bright, in proportion to the greater or less quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent the substance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract which cannot produce any more essential salt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a considerable quantity of extraneous oils, which distinguish the sugar, and render it thick and blackish; so that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, because the spaces which these oils filled up remain empty.

As soon as the sugar is cool it is poured into earthen vessels of a conic figure, the base of the cone is open, its top has a hole, through which the water is poured that has not formed any crystals. This is called the syrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw sugar remains, which is rich, brown and salt.

THE greatest part of the islands leave to Europe the care of giving sugar the other preparations which are necessary to make it fit for use. This practice spares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more blacks to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cul-

cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ships for ex-
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 portation.

THE French planters alone have thought it their interest to manage their sugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactness the juice of the sugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles to the salts of the sugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. These give it a dead colour, and the taste of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This consists in putting again the raw sugars into a new earthen vessel, in every respect similar to that we have mentioned. The surface of the sugar, throughout the whole extent of the basin of the cone, is then covered with a white marl on which they pour water. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different saline particles, when this earth meets with oily substances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a second syrup is procured, which they call melasses, and which is so much the worse, in proportion as the sugar was finer; that is, contained less extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, dissolved by the water, passes alone, and carries with it all its acrimony.

THIS earthing is followed by the last preparation, which is effected by fire, and serves for the evaporating of the moisture with which the salts are impregnated, during the process of earthing. In order to obtain this, they take out the sugar in its whole form out of the conical vessel of the earth, convey it into a stove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat, where it is left till the sugar is become very dry,
 which

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which commonly happens at the end of two or three weeks.

THOUGH the expence which this process requires, is in general thrown away, since the earthed sugar is commonly refined in Europe in the same manner as the raw sugar; all the inhabitants of the French islands, however, who are able to purify their sugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whose marine is weak, this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables them, in times of war, to convey into their own metropolis the most valuable cargoes with a less number of ships than if they prepared only raw sugars.

ONE may judge from these species of sugars, but much better from that, which has undergone the earthing, of what sort of salts it is composed. If the soil, where the cane hath been planted, is hard, stony, and sloping, the salts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the soil is marly, the colour will be the same; but the granulations, being cut on fewer sides, will reflect less light. If the soil is rich and spongy, the granulations will be nearly spherical, the colour will be dusky, the sugar will slip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This last sugar is considered as the worst.

WHATEVER may be the reason, those places that have a northern aspect produce the best sugar; and marly grounds yield the greatest quantity. The preparations which the sugar that grows in these kinds of soil require, are less tedious and troublesome than those which the sugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But these observations admit of infinite variety, whose investigation is properly the province of chymists or speculative planters.

BESIDES sugar, the cane furnishes syrup, whose value BOOK
XI. is only a twelfth of that of the price of sugars. The best-syrup is that which runs from the first vessel into the second, when the raw sugar is made. It is composed of the grosser particles which carry along with them the salts of sugar, whether it contains or separates them in its passage. The syrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and less in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the sugar when it is washed. By means of fire, some sugar is besides extracted from the first syrup, which, after this operation, is of less value than the second.

BOTH these kinds are carried into the North of Europe, where the people use them instead of butter and sugar. In North America they make the same use of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation, and an agreeable taste to a liquor called *Pruss*, which is only an infusion of the bark of a tree.

This syrup is still more useful, by the secret that has been discovered of converting it by distillation, into a spirituous liquor which the English call *Rum*, and the French *Tafia*. This process, which is very simple, is made by mixing a third part of syrup with two-thirds of water. When these two substances have sufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean still, where the distillation is made as usual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the syrup employed.

SUCH is the method which, after many experiments, and variations, all the islands have generally pursued in the cultivation of sugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. One may be allowed to conjecture, that if instead of planting canes in large fields,

BOOK fields, they parcelled out the ground into divisions of
XI. sixty feet, leaving betwixt two planted divisions a space
 of land uncultivated, such a method would be attended
 with great advantages. In the modern practice, none
 but the canes on the borders are of a fine growth, and
 attain to a proper degree of maturity. Those in the
 middle of the field in part miscarry, and ripen badly, be-
 cause they are deprived of a current of air, which only
 acts by its weight, and seldom gets to the foot of these
 canes that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new system of plantation, those portions of
 land which had not been cultivated would be most fa-
 vourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted
 divisions had been made, which in their turn would be
 left to recover. It is probable, that by this method as
 much sugar might be obtained as by the present practice;
 with this additional advantage, that it would require
 fewer slaves to improve it. One may judge what the
 cultivation of sugar would then produce, by what it now
 yields notwithstanding its imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and suffi-
 ciently stocked with blacks, with cattle, and all other
 necessaries, two men will cultivate a square of canes,
 that is, a hundred geometrical paces. This square must
 yield on an average sixty quintals of raw sugar. The
 common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty
 livres, (a) after deducting all the expences. This makes
 an income of 600 livres, (b) for the labour of each man.
 One hundred and fifty livres, (c) to which the price of syrup
 and rum must be added, will defray the expences of cul-
 tivation, that is to say, for the maintenance of slaves, for
 their loss, their disorders, their clothes, and repairing
 their utensils, and other accidents. The net produce
 of an acre and half of land will then be four hundred
 and

(a) 17s. 6d.

(b) 26l. 5s.

(c) 6l. 11s. 3d.

and fifty. (d) It would be difficult to find a culture pro- BOOK
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ductive of greater emoluments.

It may be objected, that this is stating the produce below its real value, because a square of canes does not employ two men. But those who would advance this objection ought to observe, that the making of sugar requires other labours than those of merely cultivating it, and consequently workmen employed elsewhere than in the fields. The estimate and compensation of these different kinds of service, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a square of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

It is principally with their sugar that the islands furnish their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, salt, provisions, silks, linens, hardware; and every thing that is required for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, conveniences and even their luxuries. Their consumptions of every kind are prodigious, and must necessarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are rich and can well afford them.

It should seem that the Europeans, who have been transplanted from America, must no less have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being less immediately subject to the laws of nature, resist her influence the more, because they are, the only beings, who act for themselves. The first colonists, who settled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new sky, and a new soil, by the conveniencies which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themselves in a manner the best adapted to the change of situation. They retained the customs of their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural laws

Character
of the Eu-
ropeans
settled in
the Indies.

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laws of the air they breathed. With these they carried into America the food and usages of Europe, and familiarised to each other, beings and productions which nature had separated by an interval of the same extent as a Zone. But of all their primitive customs, the most salutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

ALL nations, even the least civilized, have proscribed an union of sexes between the children of the same family ; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance naturally led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accustomed to see one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which arises from habit, than that lively and impetuous sensation of sympathy, which suddenly affects two beings, who never saw one another. If in the savage life hunger disunites families, love undoubtedly must have reunited them. The history, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, that marriage was the first alliance of nations. Thus the blood will be more intermixed by the casual meetings occasioned by a wandering life, or by the conventions and agreements of settled communities. The natural advantage of crossing the breed among men as well as animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, is the result of slow experience, and is posterior to the acknowledged utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of society. Tyrants very early understood how far it was proper for them to separate, or connect their subjects, in order to keep them in a state of dependence. They formed men into separate ranks by their prejudices : because this line of division between them became a bond of submission to the sovereign, who ballanced them together by their mutual hatred and opposition.

position. They connected families to each other in every station, because this union totally extinguished every spark of dissention repugnant to the spirit of civil society. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, has been rather the result of political institutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

BUT whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this custom, it was observed by the Europeans, who were willing to multiply in the islands. The greatest part of them married either in their own country, before they removed into the new world, or with those who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy association hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds distinguishes the man born under the sky of the new, but from parents that are the issue of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with so much the more certainty, as they are drawn from the writings of an accurate observer, from whom we have already drawn some particulars respecting natural history.

The Creoles are in general well made. One can hardly see a single person afflicted with those deformities which are so common in other climates. They have all an extreme suppleness in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, or to the custom of their being reared without the confinement of swaddling cloaths, and stays, or to the exercise they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freshness which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it resembles that of persons just recovering from

BOOK a fit of illness; but this livid complexion, more or less
 XI. dark, is nearly that of our southern people.

THEIR intrepidity in war has been signalized by a series of bold actions. There would be no better soldiers, if they were more capable of being disciplined.

HISTORY does not afford any of those instances of cowardice, treachery and meanness among them, which fully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alledged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL strangers, without exception, find in the islands, the most friendly, and generous hospitality. This useful virtue is practised with an ostentation, which shews, at least, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propensity to beneficence banishes avarice; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

THEY are strangers to dissimulation, craft and suspicion. The pride they take in their frankness, the opinion they have of themselves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial transactions all that mystery and reserve, which stifles natural goodness of disposition, extinguishes the social spirit, and blunts our sensibility.

A warm imagination, incapable of any restraint, renders them independent and inconstant in their taste. It constantly hurries them with fresh ardour into pleasures, to which they sacrifice both their fortune and their whole existence.

A remarkable degree of penetration, a quick facility in seizing all ideas, and expressing themselves with vivacity. The power of combining added to the talent of observation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of mind and character, which render men capable of the greatest actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppression compels them to it.

THE

THE sharp and saline air of the Caribbees deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their sex. But they have a delicate white complexion, which allows the eyes all their power, and conveys into the soul such deep impressions as are irresistible. As they are extremely sober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee and such spirituous liquors as restore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhausts them.

THEY are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This propagation proceeds from love which strongly attaches them to the man they possess; but which also throws them instantly into the arms of another, whenever death has dissolved the union of a first or second marriage.

JEALOUS even to distraction, they are seldom unfaithful. That indolence, which makes them neglect the means of pleasing, the degrading taste which the men have for negro women, their manner of life, private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; these are the best supports of the virtue of these females.

THE solitary manner in which they live in their houses gives them an air of timidity, which embarrasses them in their intercourse with the world. They lose, even in early life, the spirit of emulation and choice, and this prevents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They seem to have neither power nor taste for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly transports and animates them to higher pleasures. This instinct of pleasure attends them through all the stages of life; whether it is, that they still retain some share of their youthful sensibility, or are stimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reasons which are unknown to us.

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FROM this constitution arises such an extremely sensible and sympathizing character, that they cannot even bear the sight of misery; though they are, at the same time, rigid and severe with respect to the service they require of those domestics that are attached to their person. More despotic and inexorable towards their slaves than the men themselves, they feel no remorse in ordering chastisements, the severity of which would be a punishment and a lesson to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themselves, or were witnesses to them.

THIS slavery of the negroes is, perhaps, the cause from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear strange, fantastic, and of an intercourse not much relished in Europe. From their earliest infancy they are accustomed to see a number of tall and stout men about them, whose business it is to conjecture and anticipate their wishes. This first view must immediately inspire them with the most extravagant opinion of themselves. Seldom meeting with any opposition to their caprice, tho' ever so unreasonable, they assume a spirit of presumption, tyranny and disdain for a great part of mankind. Nothing is more insolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when these happen to be slaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which must expose them to punishment, what must masters become who have never obeyed; wicked men who have never been punished; and madmen who are used to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which must necessarily be detested in Europe, where a greater equality among men teaches them a greater mutual respect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to surmount a difficulty, or bear contradiction. Nature hath given them every

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advantage, and fortune refused them nothing. In this BOOK
XI. respect, like most kings, they are unhappy because they have never experienced adversity. If the climate did not strongly excite them to love, they would not taste a single true pleasure: and yet they have seldom the happiness of forming an idea of those passions, which thwarted by obstacles and refusals, are fed with tears, and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repress or restrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a softness and effeminacy which would render them sooner or late the victims of their own tyranny, or would sink them into a state of anarchy that would overturn all the foundations of their community.

BUT if they once ceased to have negroes for slaves, and kings who live at a distance from them for masters, they, perhaps, would become the most astonishing people that ever appeared on the earth. The spirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earliest infancy, the understanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the necessity of repelling numerous enemies would inspire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immense cultivation; the ranks and societies they would have to create; and the maxims, laws and manners they would have to establish on the principles of reason: all these springs of action would, perhaps, make of an equivocal and miscellaneous race of people, the most flourishing nation that philosophy and humanity could wish for the happiness of the world.

IF ever any fortunate revolution should take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced such devastation, this new world must flourish in its turn, and, perhaps, command the old. It will become the

BOOK XL asylum of our people who have been oppressed by political establishments, or driven away by war. The savage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppressed strangers will become free. But it is necessary that this change should be preceded by conspiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that a hard and laborious education should predispose their minds both to act and to suffer.

Ye young Creoles, come into Europe to exercise and practise what we teach you, there to collect in the precious remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have lost, there to study our weakness, and draw from our follies themselves those lessons of wisdom which produce great events. Leave in America your negroes, whose condition distresses us, and whose blood, perhaps, is mingled in all those ferments which alter, corrupt, and destroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with slaves, whose stupidity inspires you with none of those elevated and virtuous sentiments, which can only give rise to a people that will become famous. America hath poured all the sources of corruption on Europe. To complete its vengeance, it must draw from it all the instruments of its prosperity. As it has been destroyed by our crimes, it must be renewed by our vices.

NATURE seems to have destined the Americans to a greater share of happiness than the Europeans. In the islands are scarcely known such diseases as the gout, gravel, stone, apoplexies, pleurisies, complaints of the chest, and other disorders, which winter occasions. None of those scourges of the human race which are so fatal in other countries, have ever made the least ravages there. If the air, of the country can be withstood and the middle age be attained to, this is sufficient to insure a long and happy course of life. There old
age

age is not tottering, languishing, and beset with those infirmities which affect it in our climate.

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In the Caribbees, however, new born infants are attacked with a disease which seems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *trismus*. If a child receives the impressions of the air or wind, if the room where it is just born is exposed to smoke, to too much heat or cold, the disorder shews itself immediately. It first seizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, so as not to be opened. This spasm soon communicates itself to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nourishment. If it escapes this danger, which threatens the nine first days of its existence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, such as the use of coffee, chocolate, wine, but especially sugar and sweetmeats; these indulgencies that are so pernicious to our children, are offered to those of America by nature, which accustoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

Diseases to which the Europeans are subject in the islands.

THE fair sex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as its charms. In the islands they are subject to a weakness, an almost total decay of their strength; an unconquerable aversion for all kind of wholesome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudicial to their health. Salt or spiced food is what they only relish and desire. This disease is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropsy. It is attributed to the diminution of the catamenia in those women who come from Europe, and to the weakness or total suppression of that periodical discharge in Creoles.

THE men, more robust, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are exposed

BOOK to a hot and malignant fever, known under different
XI. names, and indicated by hæmorrhages. The blood which

is boiling under the fervent rays of the sun, is discharged from the nose, eyes, and other parts of the body : nature in temperate climates does not move with such rapidity, but that in the most acute disorders there is time to observe and follow the course she takes. In the islands, her progress is so rapid, that if we delay to attack the disorder, as soon as it appears, its effects are certainly fatal. Thus it is, that the patient in the space of twenty-four hours must be bled fifteen or eighteen times, while in the intervals he has recourse to other remedies. No sooner is a person seized with sickness, but the physician, the lawyer, and the priest, are all called to his bed-side.

MOST of those who survive these violent shocks, being exhausted by the manner in which they have been treated, recover very slowly and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual weakness, occasioned by the debility of the whole machine, whom the noxious air of the country and the little nourishment their food supplies, are not able to restore. Hence obstructions, jaundice, and swelling of the spleen, are produced, which sometimes terminate in dropsies.

ALMOST all the Europeans who land in America, are exposed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themselves on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whose blood has the natural evacuations, and negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by a free perspiration, for all the ferments that the sun can produce.

It is certainly owing to the sun, the heat of whose rays, being less oblique, and more constant than in our climates, occasions these violent fevers. Its heat must inevitably produce a thickening of the blood through the excess of perspiration, a want of elasticity in the solids,
 a dila-

a dilatation of the vessels by the impulse of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the less degree of compression which the surface of the bodies is exposed to in a rarefied atmosphere. BOOK
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Some of these inconveniences might, perhaps, be prevented by purging and bleeding on the passage as we advanced toward the torrid zone ; by repeating these precautions in the islands, and by the use of the cold bath.

BUT far from having recourse to these expedients, which reason indicates, the inhabitants fall into such excesses as are the most likely to hasten and increase the disorder. The strangers who arrive at the Caribbees, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleasures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with ; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence of all the pleasures which custom renders less prejudicial to those who are born under this climate. Feasting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials, and frequently the chagrin of disappointment in their imaginary expectations, conspire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which soon becomes inflamed.

WITH such indulgence, it is scarce possible to resist the heats of this climate, and even the greatest precautions are not sufficient to secure persons from the attack of those dangerous fevers ; when the most sober, and moderate men, who are the most averse from every kind of excess ; and the most careful in all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the present state of the colonies, of ten men that go into the islands, four English die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

WHEN it was observed how many men were lost in these regions, at the time they were first occupied, it was generally

BOOK generally thought, that the states who had the ambition
XI. of settling there would be depopulated in the end.

Advantages of those nations that are in possession of the islands. **EXPERIENCE** hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as these colonies have extended their plantations, they have been supplied with more means of expence. These new means have opened into their mother country new sources of consumption. The increase in exportations, could not take place without an increase of labour. These labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the case when the means of subsistence are multiplied. Even foreigners have resorted in great multitudes into those kingdoms, which opened a field to their ambition and industry.

POPULATION not only increased among the proprietors of the islands, but the people have also become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportioned to our conveniences, and it must increase as we can vary and extend them. The islands have been productive of this advantage to their possessors: They have drawn from these fertile regions a number of commodities, the consumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have drawn some, which when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the possession of the islands, by lucky circumstances, or by well combined projects, are become the residence of the arts, and of all the polite amusements which are a natural and necessary consequence of great plenty.

BUT this is not the only advantage: these colonies have raised the nations that founded them, to a superiority of influence in the political world, in the following manner: Gold and silver, which form the general circulation

of

of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. They **BOOK**
belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portuguese, but **XI.**
to the people, who give their merchandise in exchange
for these metals. These people have accounts between
them, that are ultimately settled at Lisbon and Cadiz,
which may be looked upon as a common and universal re-
pository. It is in these places that one must judge of the
increase or decline of the trade of each nation. That
nation whose accounts of sale and purchase are kept
in ballance with others, acquires its interest entire.
That which hath purchased more than it hath sold, with-
draws less than its interest; because it hath ceded a part
of it, in order to satisfy the demands of the nation to
which it was indebted. That which has sold more to
other nations, than it hath purchased of them, does not
only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but
also the profit it has derived from other nations with
whom it hath made exchanges. This last advantage is
peculiar to the people who possess these lands. Their ca-
pital is annually increased by the sale of the valuable pro-
ductions of these countries; and the augmentation of their
stock confirms their superiority, and renders them the
arbiters of peace and war. But we shall explain, in the
following Book, how far each nation hath increased its
power by the possession of the islands.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

B O O K

BOOK XII.

*Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Danes,
in the American islands.*

A Spanish colony form'd on the banks of the Oronooko. The use that has, and might have been made of it.

THE honour of having discovered the great Archipelago of the Caribbees, and of having formed the first settlements on them is due to Spain. The most advanced of these from the American continent, is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he discovered the Oronooko ; but other objects interfering, both the island and the coasts of the neighbouring continent were at that time neglected. But the lustre of the gold, which had been seen from a distance glittering on the shore, caused them to be revisited by the nation, which had first made the discovery. The conquest of those immense regions, which are watered by one of the largest and richest rivers of the universe, was resolved upon ; and the island of Trinidad, situated at the mouth of the Oronooko, was peopled, in order to insure and facilitate the execution of so great an enterprize. An island has always the advantage of a continent, when, having but a small extent of country to defend, it has a very

very large one to attack ; as was the case in the present **BOOK**
instance. **XII.**

THE river Oronooko, which, as is commonly believed, springs from the Cordeleras, after being increased in a course of five hundred and seventy-five leagues by the influx of a great number of rivers of different magnitude, empties itself into the ocean by more than fifty channels. Its impetuosity is so great, that it stems the most powerful tides and preserves the freshness of its waters to the distance of twelve leagues from that vast and deep channel within which it was confined. But this rapidity is not always equal, and owes its variations to a circumstance, perhaps, entirely peculiar. The Oronooko, in the month of April, begins to swell, and continues to rise during five months ; the sixth it remains at its greatest height : in October, it begins to subside, and falls gradually till the month of March, during which it continues in a fixed state of its greatest diminution. These alternate changes are regular even to certainty.

THIS Phenomenon, the cause of which is not known, seems to depend much more on the sea than on the land. In the six months that the river is rising, the hemisphere of the new world presents nothing but seas, at least, but little land to the perpendicular action of the rays of the sun. In the six months of its fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet, by which it is illuminated. The sea, at this time, is less subject to the influence of the sun, or, at least, its current towards the eastern shore is more ballanced, more broken by the land, and must, therefore, leave a freer course to the rivers, which, not being then so strongly tied by the sea, cannot be swelled but by rains, or by the melting of the snows from the Cordeleras. Perhaps, indeed, the rising
of

B O O K of the waters of the Oronooko may depend entirely on
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the rainy season. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the causes of so singular a phenomenon, it would be necessary to consider, how far the course of this river may be affected by that of the Amazons, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their situation, their source, and their opening into the sea, it is not improbable, that the cause of so remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be discovered. All things are connected in this worldly system. The courses of rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever an enlightened people shall acquire a knowledge of the banks of the Oronooko, they will discover, or, at least, they will endeavour to discover the causes of these phenomena. But their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. The river is not so navigable as it might be presumed, from its magnitude; its bed is in many places, filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator at times to carry both his boats and the merchandise they are laden with.

THE people, who border on this river, but little distant from the burning Line, inhabiting a country, perhaps, too fruitful to have been cultivated, know neither the trouble of clothes, the restraints of police, nor the burthen of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they live chiefly by hunting and fishing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour can be spent on Agriculture, where they have nothing but a stick to plough with, and hatchets made of stone to cut down trees, which being burned or rotted, leave the soil in a proper state for bearing.

It was not till the year 1535, that the Spaniards thought of paying another visit to the river Oronooko.

Having

Having been disappointed in their search after mines, they considered it of so little importance, that they never formed more than one small settlement upon it. This is situated at the lower part of the river, and is called St. Thomas. The first colonists applied themselves with so much ardour to the cultivation of tobacco, that they delivered annually ten cargoes to the Dutch. This intercourse having been prohibited by the metropolis, the town, which hath also been twice sacked by privateers, insensibly dwindled to nothing. The whole employment of the place, at present, is to breed a few cattle, which they send to Cumana, by an inland communication.

THESE vast and fertile regions would soon emerge from their present obscurity, if Spain knew how to avail herself of the active ambition of the Jesuits. It is well known that these men, admirable as a society, dangerous in political, and detestable in a religious view, had succeeded so far as to draw from the midst of their forests a great number of wild natives; to settle them on the banks of the Orinoko, and other rivers, most of which are navigable, that fall into it; to instil into them some social principles, and some taste for some of the more necessary arts, particularly agriculture. These people already cultivate sugar, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, for their own consumption: would it not be possible to induce them to increase the growth of these commodities, by offering them others in exchange? The distance between a savage and a social state is immense; but from the infancy of society to a flourishing state of commerce, there are but a few steps to make. Time, which improves the strength, shortens the distances. Spain would be enriched by her traffic with these new plantations, whose:

BOOK whose produce might be carried to Trinidad, and thus
XII. that island would be restored to its original destination.

Settlement of the Spaniards at Trinidad, and at Margareta. **BUT**, beside the serving as a staple, its extent, the fruitfulness of its soil, and the convenience of its roads, would make it an object in itself of considerable importance. Those, who have surveyed it with sufficient attention and skill to discern through the impediments of thick forests, with which it is covered, the real value of it, have esteemed it capable of producing in abundance many species of commodities, and even such as bear a high price. Yet, its produce hath been confined merely to cocoa; but this was in such perfection, that it was preferred even to that of Caracca; and the Spanish merchants, in order to secure it, strove to anticipate each other by paying for it in advance. This eagerness, which may sometimes give a spur to the industry of a people naturally active, is sure destruction to those, among whom the desire of ease has the force of a passion, and even almost of a necessity, if not of nature, at least, of habit. The proprietors having received more money than they could repay with that single commodity, in which their whole fortune consisted, fell, by degrees, into despair; and from the dread of unusual toil, gave over all thoughts of labour. Since the year 1727, there hath been no more cocoa to be found on the island; which, from that time, hath had no correspondence with the metropolis.

THE same negligence had before ruined Margareta. This island enjoyed a momentary life and prosperity from a species of wealth drawn from the bottom of the sea, which encompassed it. Columbus in 1498 discovered at the distance of four leagues the little isle of Cubagua, afterwards called pearl island. The quantities of this treasure, which nature yielded without any expence,

attracted the Spaniards to this place in 1509. They brought with them some savages from the Bahama islands, who had been found not proper for working in the mines, but had a faculty of continuing a long time under water. This talent of theirs was employed with so much ardour, that great fortunes were raised in a very small time. The banks of pearl were exhausted, and the colony transferred in 1524 to Margareta, where some of the same kind had just been discovered, and which disappeared in a still shorter time. From this period that island, which is fifteen leagues in length and six in breadth, became more neglected by Spain than Trinidad.

THAT the court of Madrid still maintains possession of these two islands, is more for the sake of keeping nations of greater industry at a distance from the continent, than with a view of deriving any advantage to itself from them. Here is a mixt race, formed between Spaniards and Indian women, who joining the indolence of the savage to the vices of civilized nations, are sluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live on what fish they catch, and bananas, which nature, out of complaisance as it were to their slothfulness, produces there of a larger size, and better quality than in any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of lean and tasteless cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the French colonies, exchanging them for camlets, black veils, linens, silk stockings, white hats, and iron ware. The number of their vessels does not exceed thirty sloops, without decks.

THE tame cattle of these two islands have filled the woods with a breed that is become wild. The inhabitants shoot them, and cut their flesh into slips of three inches in breadth and one in thickness, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, so that they will keep

BOOK three or four months. This provision, which is called
 XII. Tassau, is sold in the French settlements for twenty livres
 (e) a hundred weight.

ALL the money which the government sends to these two islands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than sixteen hundred, live in a state of the most deplorable poverty. In time of war they furnish about two hundred men, who for the sake of plunder offer themselves without distinction to any of the colonies, that happen to be fitting out cruizers for sea.

Spanish
 settlement
 at Porto
 Rico.

THE inhabitants of Porto-Rico are of a different turn. That island, which is situated in the center of the Antilles, is forty leagues in length, and twenty in its greatest breadth. Though it was discovered and visited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when thirst of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conquest, which afterwards cost them dear.

EVERY one knows, that the use of poisoned arms is of the highest antiquity. In most countries it preceded the invention of steel. When darts, headed with stone, bones of fish or other animals, proved insufficient to repel the attacks of wild beasts, men had recourse to poisonous juices, which from being originally designed merely for the chase, were afterwards employed in war against their own species. Ambition and revenge set no limits to their outrages, till ages had been spent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was discovered, that this effusion of blood produced no advantage, and that in proportion as the stream swelled in its course, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deserts without animation and without culture; they then came to an agreement to moderate

moderate in some degree the thirst of shedding it. They established what are called the laws of war; that is to say, injustice in injustice, or the interest of kings in the massacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reserve some few of the herd to propagate the breed. These laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuses in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poisoned weapons are forbidden, and when cannon balls will do the business, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race unworthy both of heaven or earth, destructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never cease to torment this globe, where thou existest but for a moment? Will thy wars never end but with the annihilation of thy species? Go then; if thou wouldst advance thy mischief, go and provide thyself with the poisons of the new world.

Of all the regions, productive of venomous plants, none abounded so much in them as South-America, which owed this malignant fertility to a soil in general rank, as if it was purging itself from the slime of a deluge.

The plants called Lianes, of which there were vast numbers in all damp and marshy places, furnished the poison, which was in universal request on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the consistence of a syrup. After this they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poisonous quality. During several ages, the savages in general used these arms in their wars with each other. At length many of those nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the necessity of renouncing so destructive a weapon; and reserved it for beasts, whether large or small, which they could not overtake or over-

BOOK come. Any animal, whose skin has been raised with one
XII. of these poisoned arrows, dies a minute after, without
 any sign of convulsion or pain. This is not occasioned
 by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time
 the general opinion; recent experiments have proved,
 that this poison, mixt with blood newly drawn and warm,
 prevents it from coagulating, and even preserves it some
 time from putrefaction. It is probable, that the effect
 of these juices is upon the nervous system. Some tra-
 vellers have imputed the origin of the venereal disease
 among the inhabitants of the new world, to the habit
 of eating game killed with these poisoned arms. At pre-
 sent it is universally known, that the flesh of such ani-
 mals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill
 effect.

In the American islands, they draw their poison from
 trees more than from the Lianes; and of all the ve-
 nomous sorts of trees, the most deadly is the manche-
 neel. Its trunk, which is never more than two feet in
 circumference, is covered with a smooth tender bark. Its
 flowers are of a reddish cast. Its fruit is of the colour
 of a peach, and has a stone in the middle. The leaves
 of it are like those of the laurel, and contain a milky
 fluid. In the heat of the day it is dangerous to handle
 them, on account of the moisture which exudes from
 their pores; and still more dangerous to repose under them,
 from the prodigious quantity of dust that falls from the
 innumerable flowers borne by these trees. Incisions being
 made in the trunk of them, shells are placed under to re-
 ceive the sap; as soon as it is grown a little thick, they
 steep the points of their arrows in it, which acquire from
 thence the property of conveying sudden death, be the
 wound ever so slight. This poison, as appears by ex-
 perience, preserves its venomous quality above a hundred
 years.

years. Of all the spots where this tree is found, Potto-
 Rico is that in which it delighteth most, and where it is
 found in the greatest abundance. Why were not the first
 conquerors of America all shipwrecked on this island?
 It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became ac-
 quainted with it so late, and that they did not there meet
 with the death which their avarice merited.

THE mancheneel seems not to have been fatal but to
 the Americans. The inhabitants of the island where it
 grows, used it to repel the Caribbees, who made fre-
 quent descents on their coasts. The same arms they
 might have employed against the Europeans; and, as
 the Spaniards were ignorant at that time, that salt, ap-
 plied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would pro-
 bably have fallen a sacrifice to the first effects of this poi-
 son. But they did not meet with the least resistance on
 the part of the savage inhabitants of the island. They
 had been informed of what had occurred in the conquest
 of the neighbouring isles, and they regarded these stran-
 gers as a superior order of beings, to whose chains they
 voluntarily submitted themselves. It was not long, how-
 ever, before they wished to shake off the intolerable yoke
 which had been imposed on them, and postponed the en-
 terprize only till they could be assured, whether their ty-
 rants were immortal. A Cacique, named Broyo, was
 intrusted with this commission.

CHANCE favoured his design, by bringing to him Sal-
 zedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received
 him with great respect, and at his departure sent some In-
 dians to attend him on his way, and to serve him in the
 quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a
 river, which they were to pass, one of these savages took
 him on his shoulder to carry him over. As soon as they had
 got into the midst of it, he threw him into the water, and

BOOK with the assistance of his companions, kept him there till
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there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank; but as they were still in doubt, whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thousand times for the accident that had happened. This farce lasted three days; till at length being convinced by the stench of the corpse, that it was possible for Spaniards to die, the Indians rose on all sides upon their oppressors, and massacred a hundred of them.

Ponce de Leon immediately assembled all the Castilians who had escaped, and without loss of time fell upon the savages, who were terrified with this sudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increased, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that these Spaniards which were just arrived from St. Domingo, were the same that had been killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous persuasion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they submitted once more to the yoke, and being condemned to the mines, in a short time fell martyrs to the toils of slavery.

SUCH acts of barbarity by no means promoted the interests of Spain. An island of considerable extent, enriched by a great number of rivers, fruitful, though unequal; furnished with an excellent port, and coasts of easy access: this island, the possession of which would have made the fortune of an active nation, is scarcely known in the world. The inhabitants amount barely to fifteen hundred, including Spaniards, Mestees, and Mulattos. They have about three thousand negroes, whose employment is rather to gratify the indolence, than to assist the industry of the proprietors. Both masters and slaves, brought nearly upon a footing by their sloth, subsist alike

on maize, potatoes, and cassava. If they cultivate sugar, tobacco, and cocoa, it is only so much of each as is necessary for their own consumption. Their exports consist of about two thousand skins; which they furnish annually to the mother country, and a considerable number of mules, good in their kind, but small, such as are usually found in broken and mountainous countries. These mules are smuggled into Santa-Cruz, Jamaica, and St. Domingo. This colony is protected in its idleness by a garrison of two hundred men; which, with the clergy and civil officers, cost government 250,000 livres.^(f) This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is sufficient to pay the English, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the linens and other merchandise they supply. All the advantage the metropolis derives from this settlement, is to take in water and fresh provisions there for the fleets she sends to to the new world.

If Spain hath so little consideration of her own interests, as to neglect the advantage which she might draw from an island of such importance, at least she ought to permit such of her subjects, as chance hath conducted there, to emerge from that shameful poverty in which they languish. To render their condition more happy, nothing is wanted but liberty of a free market for their cattle. They could find pasture for as much as would supply the consumption of all the Caribbee islands, where the lands are occupied in tillage. The situation of a settlement in the center of those islands, would be a very favourable circumstance for its trade with them. An open communication with active and enlightened people, would excite those colonists who are not so. The desire of partaking in the same enjoyments, would inspire the same ardour for business. The court of Madrid would

P 4

then

^(f) Near 11,000*l*.BOOK
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B O O K then reap the political fruits of a condescension which hu-
XII. manity alone should dictate to her. Till this liberty of
 commerce is granted, Porto-Rico will be of no more
 service to her than St. Domingo.

Spanish
 settlement
 at St. Do-
 mingo.

THIS island, famous for being the earliest settlement
 of the Spaniards in the new world, was at first in high
 estimation for the quantity of gold it produced : this
 wealth diminished with the inhabitants of the country,
 whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth ;
 and the source of it was entirely dried up, when the
 neighbouring islands no longer supplied the loss of those
 wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A
 vehement desire of opening again this source of wealth,
 inspired the thought of getting slaves from Africa ; but
 besides that, these were found unfit for the labours they
 were destined to ; the multitude of mines which then be-
 gan to be wrought on the continent, made those of St.
 Domingo no longer of any importance. An idea now
 suggested itself, that their negroes, which were healthy,
 strong, and patient, might be usefully employed in hus-
 bandry ; and they adopted, through necessity, a wise re-
 solution, which, had they known their own interest, they
 would have embraced by choice.

THE produce of their industry was at first extremely
 small, because the labourers were few. Charles the fifth,
 who, like most sovereigns, preferred his favourites to
 every thing, had granted an exclusive right of the slave
 trade to a Flemish nobleman, who made over his privilege
 to the Genoese. Those avaricious republicans conduct-
 ed this infamous commerce as all monopolies are con-
 ducted ; they resolved to sell dear, and they sold but few.
 When time and competition had fixed the natural and
 necessary price of slaves, the number of them increased.
 It may easily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had
 been

been accustomed to treat the Indians, as beasts, though they differed but little in complexion from themselves, did not entertain a higher opinion of these negro Africans, whom they substituted in their place. Degraded still further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not restrain them from aggravating the weight of their servitude. It became intolerable, and these wretched slaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unsuccessful; but they reaped this benefit from their despair, that they were afterwards treated with less inhumanity.

This moderation (if tyranny cramped by the apprehension of revolt can deserve that name) was attended with good consequences. Cultivation was pursued with some degree of success. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century the metropolis drew annually from this colony ten million weight of sugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, cassia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that such favourable beginnings would give both the desire and the means of carrying them further; but a train of events more fatal each than the other, ruined these hopes.

THE first misfortune arose from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spanish conquests on the continent should naturally have contributed to promote the success of an island, which nature seemed to have formed to be the center of that vast dominion arising around it, to be the staple of the different colonies. But it fell out quite otherwise: on a view of the immense fortunes raising in Mexico, and other parts, the richest inhabitants of St. Domingo began to despise their settlements, and quitted the true source of riches, which is on the surface of the earth, to go and ransack the bowels of it for veins of gold,

BOOK gold, which are quickly exhausted. The government
 {
 XII. } endeavoured in vain to put a stop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded or openly violated.

THE weakness, which was a necessary consequence of such a conduct, leaving the coasts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this island was taken and pillaged by that celebrated English sailor, Francis Drake. The cruisers of less consequence contented themselves with intercepting vessels in their passage through those latitudes, the best known at that time of any in the new world. To complete the mischief, the Castilians themselves commenced pirates. They attacked no ships but those of their own nation, which were more rich; worse provided, and worse defended than any others. The custom they had of fitting out ships clandestinely, in order to procure slaves, prevented them from being known; and the assistance they purchased from the ships of war commissioned to protect the trade, insured to them impunity.

THE foreign trade of the colony was its only resource, in this distress; and that was illicit: but as it continued to be carried on, notwithstanding the vigilance of the Governors, or, perhaps, by their connivance, the policy of an exasperated and short-sighted court exerted itself in demolishing most of the sea-ports, and driving the miserable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a state of dejection, which the incursions and settlement of the French on the island afterwards, carried to the utmost pitch.

SPAIN, totally taken up with that vast empire, which she had formed on the continent, used no pains to dissipate this lethargy. She even refused to listen to the solicitations

licitations of her Flemish subjects, who earnestly pressed BOOK
XII. that they might have permission to clear those fertile lands. Rather than run the risque of seeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coasts, she chose to bury in oblivion a settlement, which had been of consequence, and was likely to become so again.

THIS colony, which had no longer any intercourse with the metropolis, but by a single ship, of no great burthen, received from thence every third year, consisted in 1717, of eighteen thousand, four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spanish, Mestees, negroes, or Mulattoes. The complexion and character of these people differed according to the different proportions of American, European and African blood they had received from that natural and transient union which restores all races and conditions to the same level; for love is not more a respecter of persons than death. These demi-savages, plunged in the extreme of sloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and most of them without clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally suppressed the sense of decency, and taste for the conveniencies of life, purchased clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money sent to them for the maintenance of two hundred soldiers, the priests and the government. It does not appear that the company, formed at Barcelona 1757, with exclusive privileges for the re-establishment of St. Domingo, hath as yet made any considerable progress. They send out only two small vessels annually, which are freighted back with six thousand hides, and some other commodities of little value.

St. Domingo, the capital of the colony, and the place where this traffic is carried on, is situated on the side of
a plain

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a plain thirty leagues in length, and from eight to twelve in breadth. This large tract, which, properly cultivated, would furnish provisions to the amount of twenty millions, (g) is covered with forests and under-wood, with here and there some pasture land interspersed, which serves for a considerable number of cattle. This spot, which is level throughout almost its whole extent, becomes unequal in the neighbourhood of the town, which is built on the banks of the Lozania. Some magnificent ruins are almost all the remains of the once flourishing state of this celebrated city. On the land-side, it has no fortification, but a simple wall, without either ditch, or outworks; but towards the river and the sea it is well provided. Such is the only settlement the Spaniards have kept up on the southern coast.

ON the north there is one called Monte Christo. Happily this maritime and commercial place hath had no connection with Spain. It owes its trade to the vicinity of the French plantations. In time of peace, the produce of the plain of Mariboux, situated between fort Dauphin and bay Mancheneel, is all carried to this port, which is constantly filled with English smugglers. When there is a rupture between the courts of London and Versailles, without engaging that of Madrid, Monte Christo becomes a very considerable market; for all the northern part of the French colony send their commodities thither, where they never fail of meeting with ships ready to take them off; but the moment Spain finds herself called upon to take a part in the disputes between the two rival nations, this brisk trade ceases.

THE Spaniards have no settlement in the western part of the island, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is not above nine or ten years since they thought of

of settling to the eastward, which they had long entirely neglected. BOOK
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THE project of cultivation, which accidentally found its way into the council at Madrid, might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is situated in the inland part, and is fourscore leagues in length, by ten, in its greatest breadth. It would be difficult to find throughout the new world a spot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would succeed admirably there; but it would be impossible to remove them from thence, without making roads, which is an undertaking that would stagger nations more enterprising than the Spaniards. These difficulties should naturally have led them to fix their eyes on the plains of St. Domingo, which are fruitful, though not in so great a degree as those of Vega-Real. Probably they were apprehensive, that the new colonists would adopt the manners of the old, so they determined upon Samana.

SAMANA is a peninsula, on the eastern part of the island, five leagues broad and sixteen long; and is joined to the continent by a narrow slip of very marshy ground. It forms a bay of fourteen leagues in length, where the anchorage is in fourteen fathom, and so commodious that the ships may lie close to the shore. This bay is full of little islands, which it is easy to keep clear of by steering close to the western coast. Besides the possession of a fertile though not a level soil, this neck of land affords a situation very advantageous for trade, and for bringing the ships that come from Europe close to the shore.

THESE considerations induced the first adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to settle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though surrounded by their enemies. At length,
it

BOOK XII. it was found that they were too much exposed, and at too great a distance from the rest of the French settlements on the island, which were every day improving. In consequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure, but did not take possession of the spot they had quitted.

WITHIN these few years, however, they have sent thither some people from the Canaries; the state was at the expence of the voyage, and of their maintenance for several years. These measures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with success. The new inhabitants have for the most part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing, and above all to the arbitrary impositions of the governors, whose military turn is ever fatal to colonies. Of these strangers the few, that survive so many evils, languish under the expectation of approaching death. Such unsuccessful beginnings promise no very fortunate conclusions. St. Domingo is likely to continue, as far as concerns the Spaniards, in the same feeble state they have left it till now. Nature and fortune will make them amends by Cuba.

Spanish colony formed at Cuba. Importance of that Island. The island of Cuba, which is separated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itself equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth from fifteen to twenty and thirty. Though it was discovered by Columbus, in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themselves masters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velasquez came with four ships and landed on the eastern point.

THIS district was under the government of a Cacique, called Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the slavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Those who could escape the tyranny of the Castilians, had followed him

him in his retreat, where he formed a little state and ruled in peace. At a distance he observed the Spanish sails, whose approach he dreaded. On the first news he received of their arrival, he called together the bravest Indians both of his subjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; assuring them, at the same time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not first render the God of their enemies propitious to them: *Behold him there*, said he, pointing to a vessel filled with gold, *behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid!*

THIS simple and credulous people easily believed, that gold, for the sake of which so much blood was shed, was the god of the Spaniards. They danced and sang before the rude and unfashioned ore, and resigned themselves wholly to its protection.

BUT Hatuey, more enlightened, and more suspicious than the other Caciques, assembled them again. *We must not*, said he to them, *expect any happiness so long as the god of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no less our enemy than they. They seek for him in every place, and where they find him, there they establish themselves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would discover him. Were we to swallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the sea, that can elude their search. When he is no longer among us, doubtless we shall be forgotten by them.* As soon as he had done speaking, every man brought out his gold, and threw it into the sea.

Notwithstanding this, the Spaniards advanced. Their muskets and cannons, those tremendous deities, dispersed with their thunder the savages, who endeavoured to resist: but, as Hatuey might reassemble them, he was pursued through the woods, taken, and condemned to be burned.

When

BOOK XII. When he was fastened to the stake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman priest advanced to propose the ceremony of baptism, and to speak to him of Paradise.

Are there, said the Cacique, any Spaniards in that happy place? Yes, replied the missionary, but there are none but good ones. The best of them, returned Hatuey, are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I should be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.

THUS was the Cacique burned, the God of the Christians dishonoured, his cross imbrued with human blood; but Velasquez found no more enemies to oppose him. All the Caciques hastened to do homage to him. After the mines had been opened, and it was found, that they did not answer, the inhabitants of Cuba being become useless were exterminated; for at that time to conquer was to destroy. One of the largest islands in the world did not cost the Spaniards a single man; but what profit have they drawn from the conquest of Cuba?

THE settlement they have formed upon this island may be considered in three views, each of which merits a serious attention. The first is, on account of the produce of the country, which is considerable; the second, as being the staple of a great trade; and the third, as being the key to the new world.

THE principal growth of this vast island is naturally cotton. This shrub, at the time of the conquest, was very common there. The preservation of it required little expence or labour; and the general dryness of the soil adapted it particularly to this purpose. The commodity, however, is now become so scarce, that sometimes several years pass without any of it being sent to Europe.

ALTHOUGH the Spaniards have an insurmountable antipathy to imitation, yet they have of late adopted the cultivation of Coffee at Cuba, having observed the rapid progress it made in the neighbouring islands. But in borrowing the commodity from foreign colonists, they have not borrowed their diligence in improving it. Their whole produce of coffee barely amounts to thirty or five and thirty thousand weight, one third of which is exported to Vera Cruz, and the rest to Madrid. One should naturally conclude, that the growth of this plant will increase, in proportion as the use of a liquor so familiar to people, in hot climates, shall become more common among the Spaniards; but a nation, which was the first to introduce into Europe a taste for coffee, and the last to adopt it both in Europe and America, will be slow in all its improvements, as it is in every kind of invention. The propagation of coffee requires that of sugar; it may be worth while, therefore, to inquire how far the Spaniards are prepared by the one for the other.

SUGAR, which is the richest and most valuable production of America, would of itself be sufficient to give to Cuba that flourishing state of prosperity, every source and channel of which nature seems to have opened for her. Although the surface of the island is in general unequal and mountainous, yet it has plains sufficiently extensive, and sufficiently watered, to supply the consumption of the greatest part of Europe in that article. The incredible fruitfulness of its new lands, if properly managed, would enable it to surpass every other nation, however they may have got the start of it; their labour of more than half a century, spent in bringing their works to perfection, would end in this, that a rival, by taking up their method, would outstrip them, and in less than twenty years engross the whole of their profits.

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But the Spanish colony is so jealous of their superiority, that to this day they have but few plantations, where, with the finest canes, they make at a great expence, but a small quantity of sugar, and that of a coarser sort. This serves partly for the Mexican market, and partly for the metropolis; which, instead of making a gold mine, as it should do, of its sugar trade, buys to the value of more than five millions at foreign markets.

It has probably been expected, that the tobacco imported from Cuba would make amends for this loss; for after furnishing Mexico and Peru, there was sufficient, with the little brought from Caracca and Buenos Ayres, to supply the demands of all Spain. The greatest part comes there in leaf. That which is cured in the country by Pedro Alonzo, has been, and is still held in the highest esteem. This Spaniard, the only one perhaps who has enriched himself by a truly useful industry, has gained in this trade between twelve and fifteen millions of livres (*b*). If the government had listened to this active citizen, the national wealth would have been augmented by the increased growth of a plant, which caprice renders so valuable. The decay of this trade is solely owing to the negligence of the court of Madrid, in not gratifying the general taste of Europe for tobacco from the Havannah.

THE Spanish colonies have an universal trade in skins. Cuba produces annually ten or twelve thousand. The number might be easily increased in a country abounding with wild cattle, where gentlemen possess on the coasts and in the inland parts, large tracts of country, which for want of population can scarcely be applied to any other purpose than that of breeding cattle.

It would be saying too much to assert, that the hundredth part of this island is cleared: there are only some traces

(*b*) From about 500,000*l.* to 650,000*l.* sterling.

tracts of cultivation at St. Jago, a port to the windward BOOK
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of the colony, and at Matanga, a safe and spacious bay
at the mouth of the old canal. The true plantations are
all confined to the beautiful plains of the Havannah,
and even these are not what they ought to be.

ALL these plantations together, may employ about five
and twenty thousand male and female slaves, of every age.
The number of whites, masters, mulattos, and free ne-
groes, upon the whole island, amount to near thirty thou-
sand. The food of these different species of inhabitants,
consists of excellent pork, detestable beef (both in great
plenty and exceedingly cheap) and manioc. Even the
troops have no other bread than the cassava. The habit
of seeing Europeans frequently at Cuba, has, probably,
preserved the inhabitants from that languid state of in-
action which prevails in all the other Spanish colonies in
the new world. It must be further observed, that the
people are less mixed, their dress more decent, and their
manners better regulated than in the other islands.

THE state of the colony would be still more flourish-
ing, if its productions had not been made the property of
a company, whose exclusive privilege operates as a con-
stant and invariable principle of discouragement. The
less industrious a nation is inclined to be, the more care-
ful it ought to be to avoid every measure that may tend
to obstruct the progress of the more active and laborious
part of the people.

If any thing could supply the want of an open trade,
and atone for the grievances occasioned by this monopoly
at Cuba, it would be the advantage this island has always
enjoyed of being the rendezvous of almost all the Spanish
vessels that sail to the new world. This practice com-
menced almost with the colony itself. Ponce de Leon
having made an attempt upon Florida in 1512, became

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acquainted with the new canal of Bahama. It was immediately discovered, that this would be the best route the ships bound from Mexico to Europe could possibly take; and in consequence of this was formed the settlement at the Havannah, which is but two small days journey from the canal. This port was afterwards found very convenient for vessels dispatched from Carthagena and Porto-Bello, which in a short time pursued the same course; always putting in there and waiting for each other, that they might set sail in greater state for the metropolis. The vast sums expended during their stay by sailors, whose cargoes consisted of the richest treasures of the universe, made the city abound in money. The number of its inhabitants, which in 1561, consisted only of three hundred families, and was nearly doubled at the beginning of the seventeenth century, amounts at present to ten thousand souls.

ONE part of them is employed in the dock-yards, formerly erected by government for building ships of war. As to the masts, iron, and cables, they are brought from Europe; the other materials are found in abundance upon the island. But that which is most valuable is the timber, which, growing under the influence of the hottest rays of the sun, lasts with moderate care for a whole century; whereas European ships dry and split under the torrid zone. This wood begins to be scarce in the neighbourhood of the Havannah; but it is common on all the coasts, and the transportation of it is neither dear nor difficult. Spain is the more interested to multiply its docks, as the seas, most frequented by its shipping, all lie between the tropics. There is still another motive for making the yards at the Havannah the principal resource of its naval power, and that is, the pains which are now taking to render this key to all its colonies impregnable.

The

The importance of its undertaking may perhaps make the detail of it not disagreeable. BOOK
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EVERY one knows, that the harbour of the Havannah is one of the safest in the universe; that the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together; that the water is excellent and easily procured. The entrance is secured by rocks, which make it necessary to keep an exact course, in order to avoid striking on them. It is become more difficult since the year 1762, when they sunk three men of war there. This precaution has proved detrimental only to the Spaniards, who have not yet been able to weigh up those large vessels; and there was the less reason for it, as the enemy would not have attempted to force their way into the harbour, which was defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of these fortresses is raised so high above the sea, that even a first rate man of war could not batter it. The other has not the same advantage; but then it cannot be attacked but by a very narrow channel, where the warmest assailants could never withstand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

THE Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land side. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men, which are the most that could be employed in this service, would not be sufficient to invest the works, which cover a vast extent. Their efforts must be directed either to the right or left of the port, against the town or the Moro. If the latter, they may easily land within a league of the fort, and will come within sight of it, without difficulty, by good roads, through woods which will cover and secure their march.

THE first difficulty will be that of getting water, which in the neighbourhood of the camp they must choose is mortal. To fetch such as is drinkable, they must go in

BOOK XII. boats to the distance of three leagues, and it will be necessary to send a considerable force for this purpose to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a distance from the camp, without communication or support, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

PREVIOUS to the attack of the Moro, they must make themselves masters of the Cavagna, which has been lately built. It is a crown work, composed of a bastion, two curtains, and two demi-bastions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It has casemates, reservoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb proof; a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it, is composed of stones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro; but is itself exposed to attacks from a hill, which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces distant from it. As it would be easy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards intend to level it; after which the Cavagna may extend its view and its batteries to a great distance. If the garrison should find themselves so pressed, as not to be able to maintain its post, it would blow up its works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot possibly be cut off.

THE famous fortress of the Moro, had towards the sea, on which side it is impregnable, two bastions; and on the land side two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken it has been entirely rebuilt, and its parapets made higher and thicker. They have added a good covered way, and every thing that was wanting to secure the garrison and the stores.

It

It is not easier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a soft stone, which will be less dangerous to the defenders than the common sort of free-stone. BOOK
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INDEPENDENT of these advantages, the two fortresses have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to besiegers, and an easy communication with the town for receiving all sorts of provisions, without a possibility of being interrupted. Thus circumstanced, these two places may be considered as impregnable, at least as very difficult to be taken, provided they are properly stocked with provisions, and defended with courage and ability. The preservation of them is of so much greater importance, as their loss would necessarily occasion the surrender of the harbour and town, which are both of them commanded and may be battered from these eminences.

AFTER having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we must next speak of those which must be encountered on the side of the town.

It is situated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended as well towards the harbour as to the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one bastions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch and of little depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way almost in ruins. The place, in this state, could not have resisted a sudden attempt, which had it been made in the night, and supported by several attacks, true or false, would certainly have carried it. They propose at present to make wide and deep ditches, and to add an exceeding good covered way.

THESE necessary defences will be supported by the fort at the point; which is a square, built of stone, and though small, is provided with casemates. It has been rebuilt,

BOOK rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the siege.
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There is a good dry ditch round it, dug out of the rock. Independent of its principal destination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated; it has several batteries which open upon the country, and flank some parts of the town wall.

Its fire crosses that of a fort of four bastions, which has a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, casemates, and reservoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Aroftigny, will require a siege in form, if the town is to be attacked on that side, particularly as it is so constructed as to have a view of the sea, to command a considerable tract on the land side, and to disturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they must fetch from its neighbourhood.

IN skirting the city onward, we come to the fort Dalteres, which has been raised since the siege. It is of stone, has four bastions, a covered way, a half moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reservoirs, casemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a mile distant from the town, and is situated on the other side of a river and an impracticable morrafs, which cover it in that direction. The rising ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been insulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the sea has a passage from the bottom of the harbour. Besides its commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the island, it defends the circuit of the place by crossing its fires with those of Aroftigny. They are going to construct a large redoubt in the interval of these two forts, which will be an additional protection to the town. The Dalteres also crosses its fire with that of the Moro,

Moro, which is very high, and situated at the extreme point of the fort. BOOK
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SUCH a continuation of works, which will require a garrison of four thousand men, and may be finished in two or three years, cost Spain immense sums. The purchase of the mere materials cost her at first ten millions ;(i) the employment of them annually amounts to six or seven.(k) Four thousand blacks in the service of the government, and a number of Mexicans, condemned to the public works, are the instruments of this undertaking. They might have hastened the end of the toils of so many victims, if they would have permitted the troops to take a share of the burthen, which they wished, as a means to rescue them from that dreadful indigence under which they languish.

If it were allowable to form an opinion upon a subject, which our profession does not give us a right to understand, we might venture to assert, that when all these works shall be finished, those who would undertake the siege of the Havannah, should begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; because, these forts once taken, the town must of course surrender, or be destroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they should determine for the town side, the besiegers would scarcely find themselves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed they would have it in their power to destroy the dock-yards, and the ships that might happen to be in the harbour; but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to establish themselves, they must still be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impossible, after the loss they must have sustained in the attack of the town and its fortresses.

BUT

(i) Above 430,000*l.* sterling.

(k) About 285,000*l.* upon an average.

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BUT whatever plan may be pursued in the siege of this place, the assailants will not only have to combat the numerous garrison inclosed within its works, there will be a corps likewise, which will take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. This small army will be composed of two squadrons of European dragoons, well mounted, armed and disciplined, and a company of a hundred miguelets. To these may be added all the inhabitants of the island, whites, mulattoes, and free negroes, who are regimented to the number of ten thousand men; but as the greatest part of them have no idea of discipline, they would only create confusion. This, however, will not be the case with a regiment of cavalry of four squadrons, and seven battalions of militia, which since the peace they have accustomed to perform their manœuvres with astonishing regularity. These troops armed, clothed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by majors, serjeants, and corporals sent from Europe, and picked from the most distinguished regiments. The forming of this militia costs an immense sum. Whether their service will be answerable to the expence is the question, which future events alone can determine. But whatever may be the military spirit of these troops, we may pronounce beforehand, that this establishment, in a political view, is inexcusable; and for the following reasons:

THE project of making soldiers of all the colonists of Cuba, a most unjust and destructive project to all colonies, has been pursued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to use with the inhabitants to make them submit to exercises, which they were averse from, has produced other effects than that of increasing their natural love of repose. They detest those

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mechanical and forced movements, which, not contri-
 buting in any respect to their happiness, appear doubly
 insupportable; not to mention, their seeming frightful or
 ridiculous to a people, who, probably, think they have no
 interest in defending a government, by which they are
 oppressed. This unwillingness to exert themselves, ex-
 tends even to the labour, which is necessary for culti-
 vating their lands. They have entirely left off clearing,
 planting, and tilling for a nation, which regards them
 in no other light than as labourers. The establishment
 of the militia too put a stop to agriculture. Those pro-
 ductions which were gradually improving, have dimi-
 nished, and will be totally lost, if Spain continues obsti-
 nately to pursue a pernicious system, which false prin-
 ciples have induced her to adopt. The rage of keeping up
 an army; that madness, which, under pretence of pre-
 venting wars, encourages them; which, by introducing
 despotism into governments, paves the way for rebellion
 among the people; which, continually dragging the in-
 habitant from his dwelling, and the husbandman from
 his field, extinguishes in them the love of their country,
 by driving them from their home; which oversets nations
 and carries them over land and sea: that mercenary pro-
 fession of war, so different from the truly military spirit,
 sooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much
 sooner of the colonies, and, perhaps, first of all, of those,
 which belong to Spain.

THE most extensive and most fertile part of the Ameri-
 can Archipelago is possessed by the Spaniard. These
 islands, in the hands of an industrious nation, would
 have proved a source of unbounded wealth. In their
 present state, they are vast forests, exhibiting only a
 frightful solitude. Far from contributing to the strength
 and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they serve only
 to

B O O K
XII. to weaken and to exhaust it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations, she would have discovered that several of them owed their influence solely to the advantages they have drawn from islands, in every respect inferior to those, which have hitherto only served the ignominious purpose of swelling the list of the numberless and useless possessions of the Spanish crown. She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, especially of those which have no mines, but agriculture.

The Spaniards not incapable, as is supposed, of bringing their colonies to great perfection.

IT is not doing justice to the Spaniards to suppose, that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the least attention to the excessive fatigues which those of them who are concerned in contraband trade, submit to with the utmost patience, we shall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous, than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themselves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. If they were once freed from the tyranny of monopolies; if they were permitted to buy the implements of husbandry at a moderate rate; if the produce of their cultivation was not subject to such exorbitant duties; if they were not oppressed, as soon as it is found that they begin to be successful; if industry was not looked upon as a dangerous virtue; if interested individuals were not permitted to exercise an absolute and venal authority over them, they would throw off that habit of indolence and inactivity, by which Spain is almost annihilated. It is astonishing that a kingdom, which, under Charles the fifth, was as it were the head, which directed all the motions of Europe, should now be a feeble and lifeless part of it; and that a state, which makes the prin-

principal figure in the map of our continent, should make **BOOK**
the most contemptible one in the history of it. **XII.**

If Spain would recover from her infatuation, let her support her colonists. The treasures of Mexico and Peru are at hand to give riches to the islands; and the generous assistance will be amply paid. All the productions of the new world require a capital in advance: sugar in particular demands a large fund, and the returns are proportionable to it. There is not a single inhabitant at Trinidad, Margareta, Porto-Rico, or St. Domingo, capable of the undertaking; and there are not above thirty at Ceuta. All these unemployed, drooping colonists seem to join in one common petition to the metropolis for means to shake off the lethargy in which they are plunged. Alas! might the disinterested historian, who neither seeks nor desires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to furnish them with those sentiments and expressions, which the habit of sloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices of every kind seem to have precluded them from the use of. Thus would he in their name address the court of Madrid, and the whole Spanish nation.

“ REFLECT on what we ask from you, and see, if you
“ will not reap a centuple advantage by the valuable
“ commodities we shall supply to your now expiring
“ commerce. Your marine, increased by our labours,
“ will form the only bulwark that can preserve to you
“ those possessions, which are now ready to escape from
“ your hands. As we become more rich, our consumption will be the greater; and then the country,
“ which you inhabit, and which droops with you, though
“ nature herself invites it to fertility; those plains, which
“ present to your eyes only a desert space, and are
“ a disgrace to your laws and to your manners, will be
“ con-

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“ converted into fields of plenty. Your native land will flourish by industry and agriculture, which have now forsaken you. The springs of life and activity, which ye will have conveyed to us through the channel of the sea, will flow back, and encompass your dwellings with rivets of abundance. But if ye are insensible to our complaints and misfortunes; if ye do not govern us for our sakes; if we are only the victims of our loyalty; recall to your minds that ever celebrated era, in which a nation of unfortunate and discontented subjects shook off the yoke of your dominion; and by their toils, their success, and their opulence, justified their revolt in the eyes of the whole world. They have been free near two centuries, and shall we still have to lament, that we are governed by you? when Holland broke in pieces the rod of iron, which crushed her: when she rose from the depth of the waters to rule over the sea, heaven, without doubt, raised her up as a monument of freedom to point out to the nations of the world the path of happiness, and to intimidate faithless kings who would exclude them from it.”

IN effect this commonwealth, which hath for a long time stood upon an equality with the greatest kings, rose to that height in part by the prosperity of her colonies. What means she hath pursued to attain this end we are now to consider.

The Dutch establish themselves at Curassoe, St Eustatia, Saba and St. Martin. The use of plunder, and the consequence, destruction. Excepting these small islands.

BEFORE the discovery of the western coast of Africa, the passage to India, by the cape of Good Hope, and particularly before the discovery of America, the European nations scarcely knew, or visited each other, except in making laborious incursions, the aim of which was plunder, and the consequence, destruction. Excepting a small number of tyrants, who, by oppressing the weak, found

found means to support a luxury dearly purchased, all the inhabitants of the different states were obliged to content themselves with the meagre subsistence furnished them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade, which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Those great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the most brilliant epochs of the history of the world, did not produce so sudden a change of manners, as might naturally be supposed. Some of the Hanse-towns and some Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz, and Lisbon, which were become great marts, to purchase the rare and valuable productions of both the Indies; but the consumption was very small through the inability of the several nations to pay for them. Most of them were languishing in a state of absolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and resources of the countries that belonged to them.

To rouse them from this state of insensibility, there was wanting a people, who springing from nothing should inspire activity and intelligence into every mind, and diffuse plenty through every market; that should offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the superfluities of every nation for those commodities which they want; that should give a quick circulation to produce merchandise and money; and by facilitating and increasing consumption, should encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of industry. For all these advantages Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excused in confining themselves to the enjoyment of their prosperity, without knowing the sources of it; but it is incumbent on the philosopher and the politician to transmit to posterity the same

BOOK fame of the benefactors of mankind ; and to trace out,
XII. if it be possible, the progress of their beneficence.

WHEN the generous inhabitants of the United Provinces freed themselves from the dominion of the sea and of tyranny, they perceived that they could not fix the foundation of their liberty in a soil, which did not afford the necessaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to most nations is no more than an accession, a means only of increasing the quantity and value of the produce of their respective countries, was to them the sole basis of their existence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to those of other nations ; satisfied that their own would be the result of the general prosperity. The event justified their policy.

THEIR first step was to establish, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north, with those of the south. In a short time the sea was covered with the ships of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were dispersed to their respective destinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater stability and extent to her enterprizes excited in the republic a spirit of conquest. Her empire extended itself over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the islands of consequence in the sea, that encompass it. By her fortresses or her fleets, she kept in subjection the coasts of Africa ; but her laws were no where acknowledged except in the countries belonging to America, where cultivation had sowed the seeds of real wealth. The immense chain of her connections embraced the universe, of which, by
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toil and industry, she became the soul. In a word, she had attained the universal monarchy of commerce. BOOK
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SUCH was the state of the United Provinces in 1661, when the Portuguese, recovering themselves from that languor and inaction, which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them into, found means to repossess themselves of that part of Brasil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this first stroke, that republic would have lost all footing in the new world, had it not been for a few small islands; particularly that of Curassou, which they took from the Castilians, who had been in possession of it ever since 1527.

THIS rock, which is not above three leagues off the coast of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The basin is extremely large, and convenient in every respect; and is defended by a fort skilfully constructed and always kept in good repair.

THE French, in 1673, having corrupted the commandant, landed there to the number of five or six hundred men: but the treason having been discovered, and the traitor punished, they met with a very different reception from what they expected, and reembarked with the disgrace of having exposed only their own weakness, and the iniquity of their measures.

LEWIS the XIVth, whose pride was hurt by this imprudent check, sent out d'Estrees five years after with eighteen ships of war, and twelve buccaneering vessels, to wipe off the stain, which in his eyes tarnished the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his destination, when by his rashness and obstinacy, he ran his ships aground on Davis's island; and after collecting the shattered remains of his fleet, re-

B O O K turned in very bad condition to Brest, without having attempted any thing.

From this period neither Curassou, nor the little islands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any disturbance. No nation has thought of seizing upon a barren spot, where they could find only a few cattle, some cassava, some vegetables proper to feed slaves, and not one article for commerce.

St. Eustatia is of very little more consequence. This island, which is about five leagues in circumference, is properly nothing but a steep mountain rising out of the sea in the form of a cone. It has no port, and is confined to a bay, which does not strictly belong to it. Some Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Christopher's, took refuge there in 1629, and abandoned the place some time after; because, besides the barrenness of the rock, there was no fresh water, but what they got from rain collected in cisterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not known; but it is certain, that in 1639 the Dutch were in possession of it. They were afterwards driven out by the English, and these by Lewis the XIVth, who caused his right of conquest to be recognized in the negotiation of Breda, and would not listen to the representations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which pressed strongly for the restitution of this island, as having been in possession of it before the war. When the signing of the peace had put an end to these representations, the French monarch, whose pride more readily submitted to the dictates of generosity than of justice, thought it not consistent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord restored to the Dutch their island, although he knew that it was a natural fortress, which might be
of

of service in defending that part of St^a Christopher's which belonged to him. BOOK
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St. Eustatia produces some tobacco, and near six hundred thousand weight of sugar. The number of inhabitants, employed in agriculture, consists of one hundred and twenty white, and twelve hundred black people : the traders amount to about five hundred white persons, and to twelve or fifteen hundred whenever this place has the happiness of being neuter in time of war.

NOTWITHSTANDING its weakness, it has spared some of its number to people a neighbouring island, known by the name of Saba. This is a steep rock, on the summit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, which do not lie any time on the soil, give growth to plants of an exquisite flavour and cabbages of an extraordinary size. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty slaves here raise cotton, spin it, make stockings of it, and sell them to other colonies as high as ten crowns a pair. Throughout America there is no blood so pure as that of Saba ; the women there preserve a freshness of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbees. Happy colony ! elevated on the top of a rock, between the sky and sea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their storms. It breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a simple commodity, from which it derives ease without the temptation of riches ; is employed in a business less laborious than useful, and possesses in peace all the blessings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philosopher may contemplate at leisure the errors and passions of men, who come, like the waves of the sea, to strike and dash themselves on the rich coasts of America, the spoils and possession of which they are

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perpetually contending and wrestling from each other : hence may be viewed at a distance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midst of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics, devouring gold without ever being satisfied, wading through seas of blood to amass those metals, those pearls, those diamonds, which are used to adorn the oppressors of mankind ; loading innumerable ships with those precious casks, which furnish luxury with purple, and from which flow pleasures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this mass of follies, and spins in peace the cotton, which constitutes all his finery and wealth.

UNDER the same climate lies the island of St. Martin, which is about fifteen or sixteen leagues round, and contains a considerable number of hills, which are so many rocks covered with briars. The sandy soil of its plains and valleys, which is in itself barren, can only be rendered fruitful by showers, which happen seldom, and are less beneficial in proportion as they are exhaled by the sun, or drain off from the places where they fall. With some care, these casual refreshments might be preserved in reservoirs, and distributed from thence so as to produce plenty. As to the rest, this island, which has no river, is furnished with springs and cisterns, which supply the inhabitants with very good water. The air is very wholesome, the coast abounds with fish, the sea is seldom tempestuous, and there is safe anchorage all round the island.

THE Dutch and French, who met there in 1688, lived in peace, but separate from each other, when the Spaniards, who were at war with both nations, chose to attack them in their new settlement, beat them, made them prisoners, and took possession of the place themselves :

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but the conqueror soon grew weary of an establishment BOOK
XII. which brought no profit, and cost 400,000 livres (1) a year. He therefore quitted it in 1648, after having destroyed every thing which he could not carry away with him.

THESE devastations did not hinder the former possessors from returning to the island as soon as they knew that it was evacuated. They mutually agreed never to disturb each others peace, and have preserved inviolably this engagement, which was equally for the advantage of both. The disputes between their respective nations in no respect altered these dispositions, and an uninterrupted peace reigned among them, till the year 1757, when the French were driven out by the commander of an English privateer, named Cook, but they returned again as soon as hostilities ceased.

OF about fifty thousand acres of land, which this island contains, thirty-five thousand belong to the French. This great extent would employ ten thousand persons; and it is not improbable, that the progress of cultivation may one day increase their numbers to that amount, if the rigour of our governments in Europe should give birth to liberty in America. In 1753 there were not more than one hundred and two white inhabitants, and one hundred and eighty slaves. Their cattle consisted of thirty-seven horses, ninety-one bulls and cows, 315 sheep, and 458 goats. For their subsistence they cultivated 17,500 banana trees, eighty-four plots of yams or potatoes, and 82,000 trenches of cassava. The produce of 425,600 feet of cotton trees, was all they had to trade with.

THE line of separation, drawn from east to west, which confines the Dutch within a smaller compass, has made them ample amends, by giving them possession of

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(1) About 17,500*l.* sterling.

BOOK the only port in the island, and of a large salt pit, which
XII. brings them in annually two hundred thousand crowns. (m)

They have besides these, their sugar works, which employ three thousand slaves: their labour, however, never turns to account but in wet seasons.

BOTH colonies have of late taken up the cultivation of coffee with good success. This article may, perhaps, in time set them above their difficulties; a prospect, which at present is more distant to the French than to the Dutch.

THE settlements of the latter, in the great Archipelago of America, do not thus far upon the first view present any thing curious or interesting. Their produce, which is scarcely sufficient to freight four or five moderate vessels, seems not worth any degree of attention; and they would accordingly have been consigned to oblivion, if some of them, which are of no consequence in cultivation, were not very considerable in commerce. This is to be understood of St. Eustatia and Curassou.

THE desire of forming a contraband intercourse with the Spanish main, was the cause of the conquest of Curassou. In a short time a great number of Dutch ships arrived there: they were of force, and well equipt: their crews consisted of choice men, whose courage was seconded by their interest. Each of them had a share in the cargo, which he was resolved to defend at the risk of his life against the attacks of the guarda-costas.

AFTER a time, the method of carrying on this trade was changed. Curassou itself became an immense magazine, to which the Spaniards resorted in their boats to exchange their gold, silver, vanilla, cocoa, cochineal, bark, skins, and mules for negroes, linen, silks, India stuffs, spices, laces, ribbands, quicksilver, steel and iron ware. These voyages, though they were continual,
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did not prevent a multitude of Dutch sloops making trips from their island to the creeks on the continent. The wants, the supplies, the labours, and the voyages of the two nations were reciprocal, and made their coasts a most active scene of trade, though they were rivals in commerce, and equally covetous of gain. The modern substitution of register-ships, in the place of galleons, has made this communication less frequent; but it will be revived, and even increased, whenever by the intervention of war the immediate communication with the Spanish main shall be cut off.

THE disputes between the courts of London and Versailles, open a new sphere of action for Curassou. At these times it furnishes provisions to all the southern coast of St. Domingo, and takes off all its produce. This trade will increase in proportion to the progress that part of the French colony shall make, and of which it has considerable opportunities. Even the French privateers from the Windward islands, repair in great numbers to Curassou in the times of hostilities, notwithstanding the distance. The reason is, that they find there all kinds of necessary stores for their vessels; and frequently Spanish, but always European goods, which are universally used. English privateers seldom cruize in these parts.

EVERY commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curassou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher: but those that are shipped from other European ports, pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is subject to the same tax, in order to promote the sale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America, is subject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an express stipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to some port of the republic.

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St. Eustatia was formerly subject to the same impositions as Curassou; but they were taken off at the beginning of the late war. It derived this benefit from its neighbourhood to the Danish island of St. Thomas, which being a free port, engrossed a great part of its trade. Under the present regulation, its contraband trade in time of peace is chiefly confined to the barter of English cod, for the molasses and rums of the French islands.

A state of hostility between the courts of London and Versailles, opens a very large field to St. Eustatia; which is enriched by their divisions. In the last war it became the staple of almost all the merchandise of the French colonies, and the general magazine of supply for them. But this great operation was not conducted singly by the Dutch: both English and French united in the harbour of this island, to form, under shelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch passport, which cost 252 livres (*n*), and was granted without inquiring of what nation the person was who applied for it, kept their connections from public view. This great liberty gave rise to numberless transactions between persons very singularly situated, with regard to each other. Thus commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of discord.

BUT the Dutch, who are equally masters of the art of converting either the good or bad fortune of others to their own profit, are not confined to the temporary advantages of a precarious trade in the new world. They are in possession of a large territory, which they cultivate, on the continent. It is separated from the French Guiana by the river Marazoni, and by that of Poumaran from Spanish Guiana; and known by the name of Surinam.

(*n*) About 12*l*. sterling.

nam, the most ancient and most important settlement in BOOK
XII.
the colony.

THE foundation of it was laid in 1640, by the French, Dutch set-
tlement at
Surinam,
Berbice,
and Esse-
quebé. whose activity carried them at that time into a variety of climates, and whose fickleness suffered them not to settle in any. They abandoned Surinam a few years after they arrived there, and were succeeded by the English; whose diligence began to be attended with some success, when they were attacked in 1667 by the Dutch, who finding them dispersed over a vast tract of land, had little difficulty in subduing them. Some years after they were to the number of twelve hundred transported to Jamaica, and the colony was formally ceded to the republic.

THEIR subjects, whose sole occupation was commerce, had not the least taste for agriculture. Surinam was for some time a monument of the prejudices of its new masters. At length, the company, which governed the country, cut down woods, divided part of the land among the inhabitants, and furnished them with slaves. All persons who were desirous of occupying these lands, obtained grants of them upon an engagement to pay by installments out of their produce, the price at which each lot was valued: and they had the further privilege of disposing of them to any purchaser, who would agree to pay whatever part of the original debt remained due.

THE success of these first settlements gave rise to a great number of others. By degrees they extended to twenty leagues distance from the mouth of the Surinam, and of the Commewine, which runs into it; and would have advanced much further, if they had not been checked by the fugitive negroes, who taking refuge in inaccessible forests, where they have recovered their liberty, never cease to infest the back parts of the colony.

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THE difficulties, which attended the clearing of these lands, required that uncommon resolution, which is ready to attempt, and that perseverance which is capable of surmounting every thing. The greatest part of the lands which were to be made fit for cultivation, were covered with water every tide to the depth of four or five feet. By making great numbers of ditches and sluices, they succeeded in draining them; and thus the glory of settling bounds to the ocean was acquired by the Dutch in the new world, as it had been before in the old. They contrived even to give to their plantations that neatness which is every where a characteristic of them, and such conveniences as are not to be found in the most flourishing either of the English or French settlements.

ONE of the principal circumstances, to which they owe their success, has been the extreme ease with which the settlers procured money to carry on their works. They raised as much as they could make use of at the rate of six *per cent.* but under an express condition, that their plantations should be mortgaged to their creditors, and that they should be obliged to deliver to them their whole produce at the price current in the colony, till such time as the debt should be entirely paid off.

WITH the assistance of these loans, they formed upon the banks of the Surinam, or at a little distance from it, 425 plantations, upon which, in 1762, were 84,500 blacks, and 4000 white men as overseers. Among the latter, are included French refugees, Moravians, and a very considerable number of Jews. There is, perhaps, no country upon earth, where this unhappy nation is so well treated. They not only permit them to enjoy the exercise of their religion, the propriety of lands, and the determination of disputes, which arise among themselves; they suffer them likewise to participate of the common rights

rights of citizens, to have a share in the general admini- BOOK
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stration of affairs, and to vote in the elections of public magistrates. Such is the influence of the spirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to submit to that general interest, which should be the bond of union among mankind. What are those idle nominal distinctions of Jews, Lutherans, French or Dutch? Miserable inhabitants of a spot, which ye cultivate with so much toil and sorrow; are ye not all men? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an instant? and what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to dispute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not sufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, fight against you, but ye must add to those scourges, with which nature has surrounded you, the abuse of that little strength she has left you to resist them?

PARAMARIBO, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a small town pleasantly situated. The houses are pretty and convenient, though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. Its port, which is five leagues distant from the sea, has every requisite that can be desired. It is the rendezvous of all the ships dispatched from the metropolis to receive the produce of the colony.

THE success of this establishment suggested in 1732, the idea of forming another upon the river Berbice, which falls into the sea nineteen leagues west of the Surinam. The shores at its mouth were so marshy, that they found it necessary to go fifteen leagues up the stream in order to form plantations on its banks. A nation, that had made even the sea habitable, it can scarcely be supposed, would yield to such an obstacle. A new company had the glory of raising new productions in a
soil

BOOK XII. { foil taken from the bed of the sea, and the oar gave place to the plough-share.

THE same prodigy has since been attempted by another association, and with the same success on the Demerary and Essequébé, which fall into the bay at twenty leagues distance from Berbice, and upon the Pouteran, at fifteen leagues from the Essequébé, and twenty-five from the principal mouth of the Orinoko. The two last colonies will probably some time or other equal that of Surinam; but at present they do not reckon that there are more than twelve hundred free persons there, at the head of twenty-eight, or thirty thousand slaves.

Produce of
the three
settle-
ments.

THESE three settlements produce exactly the same articles; cotton, cocoa, and sugar. Though the last of these is much the most considerable, the quantity does not answer either to the number of hands, or the pains they employ about it. This defect arises, no doubt, from the nature of the soil, which is too marshy, and by its superabundant humidity drowns or washes away the vegetable salts and juices of the cane. The little profit they made of it induced the planters to turn their thoughts to some other object; and about the beginning of this century, they took up the cultivation of the coffee-tree.

THIS tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, scantily supplying the necessities of life, scatters its luxuries with a lavish hand, was long the favourite plant of that happy land. The unsuccessful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country steeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they sold it, in order to secure to themselves a trade from which they derived all their wealth. They continued in this error, till they had conveyed the tree
itself

itself to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam: when they BOOK
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were convinced by experience, that the seed of the coffee-tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unless it is put fresh into the ground.

THE fruit of this plant resembles a cherry. It grows in clusters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves of the same green as those of the laurel, but something longer. They gather it, when it comes to be of a deep red, and carry it to the mill.

THE mill is composed of two wooden rollers, furnished with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter: these are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixed, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which they put the coffee, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is stripped of its first skin, and divided into two parts, as may be seen by the form of it after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one side, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a brass sieve, where the skin drops between the wires, while the fruit slides over them into baskets placed ready to receive it: it is then thrown into a vessel full of water, where it soaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly washed. When the whole is finished, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horse. In passing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin skin that detaches itself from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing mill. This machine is provided with four
pieces.

BOOK pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a
 { **XII.** slave with considerable force; and the wind, that is
 made by the motion of these plates, clears the coffee of
 all the pellicles, that are mixt with it. It is afterwards
 put upon a table, where the broken berries and any filth
 that may happen to remain, are separated by negroes.
 After these operations, the coffee is fit for sale.

THE tree, which produces it, flourishes only in those
 climates, where the winters are extremely mild. The
 curious raise them only in hot-houses, where they water
 them frequently, and this merely for the pleasure of see-
 ing them.

THE coffee tree delights particularly in hills and moun-
 tains, where its root is almost always dry, and its head
 frequently watered with gentle showers. It prefers a
 western aspect, and plowed ground without any appear-
 ance of grass. The plants should be placed at eight feet
 distance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen
 inches deep. If left to themselves they would rise to the
 height of twenty feet; but they are stunted to five for
 the sake of gathering their fruit with greater ease. Thus
 dwarfed they extend their branches, so that they cover the
 whole spot round about them.

THE coffee tree blossoms in the months of December,
 January, and February, according to the temperature of
 the air, or the season for rain, and bears in October or
 November. It begins to yield fruit the third year, but
 is not in full bearing till the fifth. With the same in-
 firmities, that most other trees are subject to, it is like-
 wise in danger of being destroyed either by a worm,
 that pierces its root, or by the darting rays of the sun,
 which are as fatal to it as to the human species. The
 length of its life depends upon the quality of the soil it
 is planted in. The hills where it is chiefly found have

a gra-

a gravelly or chalky bottom. In one of these it languishes for some time and then dies; in the other, its roots, which seldom fail of striking between the stones, obtain nourishment, invigorate the trunk, and keep the tree alive and fruitful for thirty years. BOOK
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THIS is nearly the period for plants of the coffee tree. The proprietor at the end of this term not only finds himself without trees, but has his land so reduced, that it is not fit for any kind of culture. One may fairly say, he has sunk his capital for an income of a very short continuance. If his situation happens to be in an island, entirely inclosed and occupied, his loss is not to be repaired. But upon an open and widely extensive continent, he may make himself amends for a spot totally exhausted by a tract of unappropriated and unbroken virgin land, which it is at his own option to clear. This advantage has contributed amazingly to multiply the coffee plantations in that part of Guiana that belongs to the Dutch.

THE single colony of Surinam furnished in 1768 one hundred thousand weight of cotton, two hundred thousand of cocoa, fourteen millions of coffee, and twenty-eight millions six hundred thousand of raw sugar. Seventy ships were freighted with these commodities to bring them to the metropolis. It is not possible for us to determine with the same precision the produce of the other colonies; but we shall not be very wide of the truth in setting it at one fourth part. It may and will increase considerably. Every species of cultivation, they have yet undertaken, will be extended and improved. They will, perhaps, attempt new ones; at least, they will resume that of indigo, which a few unsuccessful experiments induced them to abandon without sufficient reason.

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IT is true, that the coast, which is seventy-six leagues in extent, does not afford a single spot for plantation. The land throughout is low and always under water. But the great rivers, upon which they have begun to settle, and the least of which is navigable for more than thirty leagues, give a strong invitation to enterprising men to come and enrich themselves on their banks. The country that lies between these, is fruitful and watered by smaller rivers, which are, however, large enough to carry sloops. The only obstacle to great success is the climate. The year is divided between continual rains and excessive heats. Their crops, which cost them vast pains to raise, are not to be preserved without the utmost difficulty from swarms of disgusting reptiles: and they themselves are exposed successively to the languors of the dropy, and to fevers of every kind.

THIS is undoubtedly the reason, which has induced the principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana to reside in Europe. There are scarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of these wealthy men, and such proprietors, whose fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intrusting the care of their plantations to other hands. For this reason their consumption cannot be large; accordingly the vessels, which are sent from the metropolis to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but absolute necessaries, at least, if there are ever any articles of luxury, it is but seldom. Even this scanty supply the Dutch traders are forced to share with the English of North-America.

THOSE foreigners were at first admitted only because the colony was under a necessity of purchasing horses of them. The difficulty of breeding, and, perhaps, other causes, have established this permission. The bringing horses is so indispensable a passport for the men, that a ship

ship which does not carry a number proportioned to its size is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horses happen to die in the passage, it is sufficient that their heads are produced, which entitles the owners to expose to sale other saleable commodities, with which they may have stocked themselves in lieu of their horses. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwise than by barter of molasses and rum; but this law is little attended to. The English, who have usurped the right of exporting thither whatever they please, take care to export the most valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply not only to other nations, but to each other. The English treat the Dutch pretty much in the same manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. *It has ever been the case*, said they to the inhabitants of that island, *that the weakest submits to the strongest: this law is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will subsist as long as the world endures.* This argument, which is so well calculated to suit the purposes of injustice, brought Athens in its turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length destroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

VARIOUS are the opinions with respect to the dangers which Dutch Guiana may be exposed to. It shall be our business to obtain some fixed idea on this important point. In the first instance, an invasion by any of the European powers, would be easily effected. Their largest ships could enter the river Poumaran, the mouth of which has seven or eight fathom depth of water, which goes continually increasing to forty fathom, at the distance of four or five leagues. The little fort of New Zeland, which protects the banks, could not stand their

Dangers, to which the Dutch colonies are exposed.

Vol. III. S ar-

BOOK artillery for two hours. The entrance of the Demerary,
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which has from sixteen to twenty and twenty-four fathoms of water, and has not less than fifteen or sixteen leagues through the space of four leagues, and is totally defenceless, would be still more easy. The outlet of the Essequibé, which is three leagues in breadth, is filled with small islands and shallows; but here, as well as all along the course of the river, are found channels deep enough to bring the largest ships up to an island ten leagues distant from the sea, and defended only by a miserable redoubt. And though the river Berbice, which is one league broad, can scarcely admit the smallest vessels, they would carry sufficient force to reduce fort Nassau, and the scattered settlements on both its banks. All the western part of Dutch Guiana is scarcely in a condition to resist the attack of an enterprising cruiser: but would infallibly be obliged to capitulate on the sight of the most contemptible squadron.

THE eastern part, which, by its wealth, is exposed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable, on account of its sand-banks. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from its outlet, the Commewine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commewine, and on the left bank a citadel called Amsterdam. These works form a triangle, and their fires, which cross each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ships from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortress is situated in the middle of a small morass, and is inaccessible except by a narrow causeway entirely commanded by the artillery.
It

It requires no more than eight or nine hundred men to garrison it completely. It is flanked with four bastions, and surrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way : for the rest, it is unprovided with powder magazines, has no vaults, nor any kind of casemate. Three leagues higher up on the Surinam is a chief battery intended to cover the harbour and town of Paramibo. It is called fort Zeland. A battery of the same kind, which they call Sommezwelt fort, covers the Commewine at nearly the same distance. The forces of the colony consist of its militia and twelve hundred regulars, one half of whose pay is supplied by the inhabitants, and the other by the company.

This number of men would be more than sufficient if they had nothing to guard against but the efforts of the natives. The few savages, who endeavoured to keep possession of places, that suited the Dutch, have been exterminated. The rest kept retreating further into the inland parts, in proportion as they found the Europeans encroaching upon them ; and live quietly in those woods, which, by serving them as an asylum, are become as dear to them as the country from which they have been driven.

But the colony has not the same degree of security with respect to the negroes. When these miserable creatures, who are brought from Africa, are exposed to sale, they are placed one after another upon a table, and examined with the most minute attention of a surgeon employed by the government. According to his report, the prices of them are settled, and the money is usually paid at the end of three weeks. The purchaser, however, has four and twenty hours allowed him to judge from his own observation, of the goodness of his bargain. If within that time he is dissatisfied with the choice

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he has made, he has a right to return what he has taken, without any ceremony or indemnification; provided he has not set his seal upon them. This seal is a silver plate on which are engraved the initials of his christian and surname: after heating it, they apply it to the arm or breast of the slave, and the marks thus burned in can never be effaced. The use of this barbarous practice is to enable them to distinguish those whose features are not sufficiently characterised for European eyes.

NOTHING is more uncommon in the Dutch settlements than to see a slave made free. He cannot obtain his liberty but by becoming a christian; and before they are authorised to administer baptism to him, they must purchase letters of freedom, which cost four hundred livres.^(o) Security must also be given for his maintenance during life, lest he should become a burthen to the company, or should be induced to increase the number of the enemies of the colony, which is already too great. When we add to all these expences the loss of the original purchase money, we may safely venture to conclude, that the franchisement of a slave cannot be common among a people with whom avarice is the ruling, if not the only, passion.

THE planters here are so far from giving way to these acts of humanity, that they have carried oppression to infinitely greater lengths, than it has been extended to in the islands. The opportunities of desertion on a continent of immense extent is, probably, the cause of this extraordinary barbarity towards the blacks. Upon the slightest suspicion a slave is put to death by his master in the presence of all his companions; but this is done without the knowledge of the white people, who might give evidence against them for so flagrant a breach of the rights

(o) Between 17*l.* and 18*l.* sterling.

of society. The blacks not being admitted to give testimony, are of no sort of consequence. The metropolis winks at this cruelty, and by its shameful connivance, risks the loss of an useful settlement. They have frequently had the strongest reason to be apprehensive of a revolution; but the danger was never so great nor so imminent as in 1763. BOOK
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IN the month of February, 1763, an insurrection broke out, which by its example and consequences might have produced the most fatal effects throughout the American settlements. Seventy-three blacks assembled in one house at Berbice, suddenly murdered their master, and set about the cry of liberty. At this sound, courage and hope revived and animated the whole body of slaves. They joined to the number of nine thousand, and in the first transports of their rage fell upon all the white people in their way; these, with the chief of the colony, were obliged to take refuge on board a brigantine at the lower port of the river. In the mean time five hundred men arrived from Surinam to their assistance. They made an attempt to land, and intrenched themselves in an advantageous post, till the arrival of some troops from Europe.

HAPPILY for the republic, the English at Barbadoes, who are in possession of most of the plantations formed on the Poumaran, Demerary, and Essequébé, sent in time a sufficient force to keep the slaves on these three rivers in order; and by a still more fortunate occurrence, the people at Surinam at this very time concluded a treaty they had on foot with the negroes, who had taken refuge in the neighbouring woods. Ignorant, as they probably were, of a commotion, which might have been so favourable to them, they consented not to receive among them any fugitives of their own nation. This stipula-

BOOK XII. tion deprived the rebels of their principal resource; and

by such a combination of unexpected events, they were reduced again to a state of servitude. The greatest part of them being without arms, they eagerly embraced the offer of a capitulation with their masters. They have, however, given proofs of that inextinguishable principle prevailing in their souls, which never fails to resist oppression. The tranquility of Dutch Guiana, like that of all other countries, where rebellions have once broke out, is more apparent than real. The seeds of treason are ripening in secret within the forests of Auka and Samaca.

In these deserts, which are peopled with all the slaves who have fled from the yoke of the covetous Hollander, a species of republic has grown up, composed of fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants, divided into several villages, each of which chooses a chief for itself. These wandering clans fall unexpectedly sometimes upon one side of the colony, sometimes upon another, in order to carry off supplies for their own subsistence, and to lay waste the wealth of their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch to check or to surprize so dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to escape every snare, and direct their march to those parts which happen to be left defenceless. Conventions and treaties are no security against their attacks.

Reasons why the Dutch ought to secure the possession of their colonies, and to encourage the produce of them.

It depends, however, upon the wisdom and moderation of these very republicans, who have rendered the load of servitude so oppressive to the negroes, to prevent a general revolution, of which they would be the first victims. They have already been guilty of great oversights. They have not given to their American settlements, that attention they deserved, although they have met with strokes

so

so severe, and so closely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their success, they would have discovered the beginning of their ruin in the loss of Brazil. Strip of that vast acquisition, which in their hands might have become the first colony of the universe, and might have atoned for the weakness or insufficiency of their territory in Europe, they saw themselves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conquest, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their mass of real wealth, a void which hath never since been filled up.

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THE consequences of the act of navigation, passed in England, were not less fatal to the Dutch. From this time, that island ceasing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, became her rival; and in a short time acquired a decisive superiority over her in Africa, Asia, and America.

HAD other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland must have sunk under the stroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not, for the prosperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has assumed to itself its own branches of commerce. Each step that has been taken for this purpose, has been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may presume from the present state of things, that sooner or later every people will establish a navigation for themselves, suited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the course of events in all nations seems to tend, and whensoever it shall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their success as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own

B O O K æconomy and experience, will find themselves reduced
 XII. to their original state of poverty.

It is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no necessity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by choosing to interfere as a principal, in the troubles which so frequently have agitated Europe. The interested policy of our times would have afforded a sufficient excuse for the wars she has commenced or sustained for the sake of her trade. But upon what principle can she justify those in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-founded apprehensions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to support herself by immense loans: if we sum up together all the debts separately contracted by the states-general, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we shall find they amount to two thousand millions (p); the interest of which, though reduced to two and a half per cent. has amazingly increased the load of taxes.

I shall leave it to others to examine whether these taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due æconomy. It is sufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increasing so considerably the prices of necessaries, and consequently that of labour, that the industrious part of the nation have suffered severely from them. The manufactures of wool, silk, gold, silver, and a variety of others, have sunk after having struggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and scarcity. When the spring equinox brings on at the same time high tides and the melting of the snow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No sooner does the increase of taxes raise the price of provisions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily consumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forsakes

(p) Between 30 and 90 millions sterling.

forfeats the manufacture and workshop. Holland has not preserved any of its internal resources of trade, but such as were not exposed to any foreign competition. BOOK
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THE husbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to say, the herring fishery, has scarcely suffered less. This fishery, which for a long time was entitled the gold mine of the state, on account of the number of persons who derived their subsistence, and even grew rich by it, is not only reduced to one-half, but the profits of it, as well as those of the whale fishery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of cash, that those who support these two fisheries, embark in the undertaking. The partnerships consist of merchants, who furnish the bottoms, the rigging, the utensils, and the stores. Their profit consists almost entirely in the vent of these several merchandises: they are paid for them out of the produce of the fishery, which seldom yields more than is sufficient to defray its expences. The impossibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cause of preserving the remains of this ancient source of the public prosperity.

THE excessive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fisheries so low, has greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the first hand. They seldom cross the sea without a cargo. They live with the strictest sobriety. The lightness of their ships in working, is a great saving in the numbers of their crews; and these crews are easily formed, and always kept in the greatest perfection, and at a small expence, from the multitude of sailors swarming in a country which consists of nothing else but sea and shore. Notwithstanding all these advantages, which are further increased by the low rate

BOOK rate of money, they have been forced to share the carrying trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and especially the Hamburgers, with whom the necessary requisites for navigation are not encumbered with the same impositions.

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WITH the freights have diminished the commissions which used to be sent to the United Provinces. When Holland was become a great staple, merchandise was sent thither from all parts, as to the market, where the sale of them was most ready, sure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to send them thither, as they obtained at an easy rate credit to the amount of two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the value of their goods. This management insured to the Dutch the double advantage, of employing their capitals without risque, and gaining commission besides. The gains of commerce were at that time so considerable, that they could easily bear these charges: they are now so greatly lessened, since experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the seller is obliged to conduct his commodity himself to the consumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occasions an agent must be employed, they will prefer, *ceteris paribus*; Hamburg, where commodities pay a duty only of one per cent. for import and export, to Holland, where they pay five.

THE republic hath lost likewise the trade of insurance, which she had in a manner monopolized formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe used to insure their freights, to the great profit of the insurers, who by dividing and multiplying their risques, seldom failed of enriching themselves. In proportion as the spirit of inquiry introduced itself into all our ideas, whether of philosophy or œconomy, the utility of those speculations

lations became universally known. The practice became ^{BOOK} familiar and general; and what other nations gained by ^{XII.} it, was of course lost to Holland.

FROM these observations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in possession of, have been very greatly diminished. Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the extent of her credit, and her extraordinary oeconomy, had not enabled her to be satisfied with a profit of no more than three per cent. which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. The deficiency has been made up to them by vesting their money in the English, French, Austrian, Saxon, Danish, and even Russian funds, the amount of which upon the whole, is about sixteen hundred millions of livres (9).

FORMERLY the state made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the most considerable of any. Had the law been observed, the sums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the use of trade being already so large, that the least addition to them, so far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for use. The superfluity of money would immediately have brought the United Provinces to that period, in which excess of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent persons, in the midst of their pleasures, would not have had wherewithal to support themselves.

THE contrary practice has been the principal resource of the republic. The money she has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the same, and produces always the same interest.

W^R

(9) About 70 millions sterling.

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WE shall not presume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy so comfortable a situation. Experience authorises us only to declare, that all governments, which have unfortunately for the people adopted the detestable system of borrowing, will sooner or later be forced to give it up; and the abuse they have made of it will most probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic shall be reduced to this state, her great resource will be in agriculture.

THIS, though it is capable of improvement in the country of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very considerable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is so small, that it will almost justify the opinion of a sultan, who, seeing with what obstinacy the Dutch and Spaniards disputed with each other the possession of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would order his pioneers to throw it into the sea. The soil is good for nothing but fish, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been said with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there. The produce of the lands will never be sufficient to maintain one fourth part of the two millions, that inhabit it at this time. It cannot, therefore, be by her European possessions, that the republic can expect to be preserved. She may depend with more reason upon those in America.

THE countries she holds in that part of the world are all of them under the influence of monopolies. Her islands as well as her factories in America, depend upon the West-India company, the credit of which, since the loss of Brazil, has sunk so prodigiously, that their stock sells at near sixty *per cent.* under par.

SURINAM, which was taken by some private ships fitted out in Zeland, was ceded by the states of that province

vince to the same company, who having still their imagination filled with the idea of their ancient grandeur, undertook without hesitation, the management of that territory. Upon serious reflection they found that the expence which was necessary to put it in a state to yield them any advantage, was far too great for their exhausted finances. They gave up a third of their property to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to an opulent individual of the name of Daarsens. The two other colonies on the continent are likewise under the controul of trading companies, to which they owe their foundation.

Not one of these societies is in possession of a single ship, nor carries on any sort of trade. The navigation to the American settlements is equally open to every member of the community, under this whimsical and oppressive condition, however, that every ship bound for Surinam and Berbice, shall sail from Amsterdam; and those for Essequibé from Zeland, and that they shall return to the same ports from which they sailed. The business of the companies is confined to the government and the defence of the territories submitted to their jurisdiction; and to enable them to support these expences, the republic authorises them to impose taxes of different kinds.

All commodities imported into the colonies, or exported from them, pay large duties. Slaves, on their arrival, are subject to much larger. There is a poll-tax upon blacks and whites from the age of three years. None but foreigners are exempted from this shameful tribute; and this exemption is not taken off but by a residence of more than ten years. When an estate is transferred, both the seller and the purchaser are subject to a considerable fine. Every manufacturer, be his industry ever so great, is obliged to give in an account of his

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his gains upon oath, and the impost is regulated agreeable to the amount of his profits. After the public expenses are defrayed, the remainder of the revenue, which the weakness or corruption of the sovereign power has suffered to become too exorbitant, is divided among the members of the different companies.

EVERY wise government has discovered the ill effect of leaving their American possessions in the hands of particular societies, whose private interests do not always coincide with that of the public. They have considered their subjects in the new world as having an equal right with those of the old to be governed not by partial but by general laws. They have been of opinion, that their colonies would make a more rapid progress under the immediate protection of the state, than under that of a middle-agent. The event has demonstrated more or less in all cases the justness of these reflections. Holland is the only power which has not adopted so simple and rational a plan; though every circumstance concurred to make it more necessary to her than to other states.

HER settlements are without any defence against enemies, which either ambition or revenge may raise up against her; and are in continual danger of insurrections from the cruelty with which the slaves are treated. Their productions, all of which ought to be carried home to the metropolis, are every day smuggled into foreign colonies in North-America. The disinclination, which a people merely commercial naturally have to the improvement of land is strengthened in the colonies by the abuses inseparable from the form of government established there. The means of creating a new order of things in them are not within the reach of the authority, protection, or activity of a private society. Revolutions of such magnitude

itude cannot be brought about but by the immediate su- **BOOK**
perintendence of the state. **XII.**

If the republic adopts the resolutions, which her dearest interests require, she will cease to depend solely for her existence upon a precarious industry, some branches of which she is every day losing, and which, sooner or later, she will lose entirely. Her colonies, which comprehend every advantage, that a mercantile and landed nation can desire, will furnish productions, the whole profits and property of which will center in her. By her territorial acquisitions she will be enabled in every market to rival those nations, whose commodities she formerly served only to convey. In a word, Holland will cease to be a warehouse, and become a nation. She will find in America that confidence, which Europe has denied her. It remains to see, if Denmark, the only northern power, that has extended its trade and sovereignty into the new world has any reasonable foundation to conceive hopes of aggrandizing itself by them.

DENMARK and Norway, which are at present united under the same government, formed in the eighth century two different states. While the former signalized itself by the conquest of England, and other bold enterprises, the latter peopled the Orkades, Fero and Iceland. Urged by that restless spirit, which had always actuated their ancestors, the Scandinavians, this active nation so early as the ninth century formed an establishment in Greenland, which country there is good reason to suppose, is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithstanding the darkness which prevails over all the historical records of the north, that there are sufficient traces to induce a belief, that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and that

Danish settlement at St Thomas, St John, and Santa Cruz

BOOK that they left some small colonies on them. Hence it is
XII. probable that the Norwegians have a right to dispute with
 Columbus the glory of having discovered the new world;
 at least, if those may be said to have made the discovery
 who were there without knowing it.

THE wars which Norway had to sustain, till the time
 it became united to Denmark; the difficulties, which
 the government opposed to its navigation; the state of
 oblivion and inaction into which this enterprising nation
 fell, not only lost it its colonies in Greenland, but also
 whatever settlements or connections it might have had on
 the coasts of America.

It was not till more than a century after the Genoese
 navigator had begun the conquest of that part of the
 world under the Spanish banner, that the Danes and
 Norwegians, who were then become one nation, cast
 their eyes upon that hemisphere; which was nearer to them
 than to any of those nations, who had already possessed
 themselves of different parts of it. They chose, how-
 ever, to make their way into it by the shortest course, and
 therefore in 1619 sent captain Munk to find out a passage
 by the north-west into the pacific ocean. His expedition
 was attended with as little success as those of many other
 navigators, both before and after him.

It may be presumed, that a disappointment in their
 first attempt would not entirely have disgusted the Danes;
 and that they would have continued their American ex-
 peditions till they had succeeded in forming some settle-
 ments, that might have rewarded them for their trouble:
 If they lost sight of those distant regions, it was, be-
 cause they were forced to it by wars in Europe, which
 their imprudence as well as their weakness had brought
 upon them. Successive losses reduced them to a despe-
 rate state, from which they would never have recovered,
 had

had not the assistance of Holland and the steady perseverance of the citizens of Copenhagen procured them a peace in 1660, less humiliating and less destructive than they had reason to fear. BOOK
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THE government seized the first moment of tranquillity to probe the wounds of the state. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or senate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other pre-eminence than that of presiding in the senate and commanding the army. In the intervals between the Diets, the government was in the hands of the senate: but all great affairs were referred to the Diets themselves, which were composed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

THOUGH this constitution is formed upon the model of liberty, no country was less free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the reformation. The burgesses had not yet acquired wealth sufficient to make them considerable. These two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was still influenced by the original feudal spirit, that reduces every thing to force. The critical situation of the affairs of Denmark did not inspire this body of men with that justice or moderation which the circumstances of the time required. They refused to contribute their proportion to the public expences, and by this refusal exasperated the members of the Diet. These, in the excess of their resentment invested the king with an absolute, unlimited power; and the nobles, who had driven them to this act of desperation, found themselves obliged to follow their example.

AFTER this revolution, the most imprudent, and the most singular that ever occurred in the annals of history, the Danes fell into a lethargy. To those great convul-

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fions, which are occasioned by the clashing of important rights, succeeded the delusive tranquillity of servitude. A nation, which had filled the scene for several ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it just recovered so far from the trance, into which the access of despotism had thrown it, as to look abroad and take possession of a little American island, known by the name of St. Thomas.

THIS island, the farthest of the Caribbees, towards the west, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a settlement upon it. They were at first opposed by the English, under pretence that some emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The British ministry stopt the progress of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of sugar, such as a sandy soil of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth would admit of.

So small a cultivation would never have given any importance to the island of St. Thomas; but the sea has hollowed out from its coast an excellent harbour, in which fifty ships may ride with security. So signal an advantage attracted both the English and French Buccaneers, who were desirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were subject to pay in the settlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward islands, they put into that of St. Thomas to dispose of them. It was also the asylum of all merchant ships which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neighbouring colonies bartered their respective commodities, which they could not do elsewhere with so much ease and safety. It was the port from which they continually dis-

dispatched vessels richly laden to carry on a clandestine BOOK
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trade with the Spanish coasts, in return for which they brought back considerable quantities of metal and merchandises of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great consequence.

DENMARK, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The persons, who enriched themselves, were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other situations. The metropolis had no other communication with its colony than by a single ship sent out annually to Africa to purchase slaves, which being sold in America, the ship returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719, their traffic increased by the clearing of the island of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half so large. These slender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab island, or Bourriquen, where they had attempted to form a settlement two years before.

THIS island, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a considerable number of hills; but they are neither barren, steep, nor very high. The soil of the plains and vallies, which run between them, seems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of springs, the water of which is said to be excellent. Nature, at the same time that she has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the finest bays, that can be conceived. One can scarce stir a step without finding some remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further distant than five or six leagues, had formerly settled there.

THE English, observing that so promising an island was without inhabitants, began to raise some plantations there towards the end of the last century; but they had

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not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were surprized by the Spaniards, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto-Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making some attempts to settle there in 1717. But the subjects of Great-Britain reclaiming their ancient rights, sent thither some adventurers, who were at first plundered, and soon after driven off by the Spaniards. The jealousy of these American tyrants extends, even to the prohibiting of fishing boats, to approach any shore where they have a right of possession, though they do not exercise it. Too idle to prosecute cultivation, too suspicious to admit industrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab island to eternal solitude; they will neither inhabit it themselves, nor suffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of exclusive sovereignty, has obliged Denmark to give up this island for that of Santa Cruz.

Santa Cruz had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and English. Their rivalry in trade soon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obstinate and bloody engagement the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a spot upon which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in securing the consequences of their victory; when in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, brought over thither in fire-ships. The triumph of these lasted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the island, surrendered without resistance to a hundred and sixty French, who had embarked from St. Christopher's to make themselves masters of the island.

THESE

THESE new inhabitants lost no time to make them-
 selves acquainted with a country so much in request. In
 a soil, in other respects excellent, they found only one
 river of a moderate size, which gliding gently almost on
 a level with sea, through a flat country, furnished only
 a brackish water. Two or three springs, which they
 found in the innermost parts of the island, made but fee-
 ble amends for this defect. The ponds were for the most
 part dry. The construction of reservoirs required time,
 Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabi-
 tants. The island being flat, and covered with old trees,
 scarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off
 the poisonous vapours, with which its morasses clogged
 the atmosphere. There was but one remedy for this in-
 convenience; which was to burn the woods. The French
 set fire to them without delay; and getting on board their
 ships, became spectators from the sea for several months
 of the conflagration they had raised in the island. As
 soon as the flames were extinguished, they went on shore
 again.

THEY found the soil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco,
 cotton, arnotto, indigo, and sugar, flourished equally
 in it. So rapid was the progress of this colony, that in
 eleven years from its commencement, there were upon
 it eight hundred and twenty-two white persons, with a
 proportionable number of slaves. It was rising by hasty
 strides to a degree of prosperity, which would have
 eclipsed the most flourishing settlements of the French
 nation, when such obstacles were thrown in the way of
 its activity as made its motions retrograde. Its decay
 was as sudden as its rise. In 1696 there were no more
 than one hundred and forty-seven men, with their wives
 and children, and six hundred and twenty-three blacks

B O O K remaining; and these were transported from hence to St. Domingo.

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WRITERS, who take it for granted that the court of Versailles is always governed in its decisions by the most comprehensive views of profound policy, have supposed, that the neglect of Santa Cruz, was the result of a determination to abandon the small islands, in order to unite all the strength, industry, and population in the large ones: but this is a mistaken notion. The resolution did not take its rise from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas, was detrimental to their interests. The spirit of finance has in all times been injurious to commerce; it has destroyed the womb in which it was bred. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants and without cultivation till 1733, when it was sold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres (r).

Conduct of Denmark towards its islands.

THIS northern power seemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately she laid her plantations under the yoke of exclusive privileges. Industrious people of all sects, particularly Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the interests of the colonists and their oppressors, but without success. The two parties kept up a continual struggle of animosity, not of industry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its constitution, purchased in 1754 the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres (s), part of which was paid down, and the remainder in bills upon the treasury, bearing interest. From this time the navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions.

THE

(r) About 32,000*l.* sterling. (s) About 413,000*l.* sterling.

THE rapaciousness of the treasury unluckily prevented the advantage which this arrangement would otherwise have produced. Indeed the national productions and merchandise, in short, whatever they could draw from the first hand, and put on board Danish vessels were to be shipped from the metropolis free of all duties; but for all manufactures that did not fall under these descriptions, they demanded a tax of four per cent. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports, six. Of American productions, what was consumed in the metropolis, had two and a half per cent. laid upon it, and what was carried to foreign markets had one.

AT the same time that the trade to the islands recovered its natural independence, at the expence of these burthensome restrictions, that to Africa, which is the basis of it, was likewise laid open. The government had above a century before purchased of the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Fredericksburg and Christiansburg, situated on the Gold Coast at a small distance from each other. The company, in virtue of its charter, had the sole possession of them; and exercised its privileges with that barbarity, of which the politest European nations have set the example in these devoted climates. Only one of its agents had the resolution to renounce those cruelties, which custom had given a sanction to. So great was the reputation of his humanity, and the confidence reposed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the distance of a hundred leagues to see him. The sovereign of a distant country sent his daughter to him with presents of gold and slaves, that Schilderop (for so this European, thus revered through all the coasts of Nigritia, was called) might give him a grandson. O virtue! still dost thou exist in the souls of these wretched beings, condemned to dwell with tygers, or groan beneath the yoke-

BOOK of their own species ! They yet have hearts susceptible
 { **XII.** of the soft impressions of humanity and beneficence !
 Just and virtuous Dane ! What monarch ever received
 so pure, so glorious a homage, as thy nation has seen
 thee enjoy ? And where ? Upon a sea, upon a continent
 degraded for ever by an infamous traffic, of men ex-
 changed for arms, and children sold by their parents, of
 crimes and misfortunes, carried on through two cen-
 turies. We cannot sufficiently lament such horrors, and
 if we could, our lamentations would be useless.

THE exclusive privilege of purchasing negroes, has,
 however, been abolished in Denmark as in other states.
 All the subjects of this commercial nation are permitted
 to buy men in Africa. They pay only eighteen livres (*t*)
 a head for every one they carry into America. Thirty
 thousand slaves, including all ages and each sex, are em-
 ployed already in their plantations, on which a poll-tax
 is laid of four livres ten sols. (*u*) The produce of their
 labours loads forty vessels, from one hundred and twenty
 to three hundred tons burthen. The plantations, which
 pay to the treasury an annual rent of nine livres (*w*) for
 every thousand feet square, furnish to the mother coun-
 try a little coffee and ginger ; some wood for inlaying ;
 eight hundred bales of cotton, which are chiefly carried
 to foreign markets, and fourteen millions weight of raw
 sugar, four-fifths of which are consumed in the metro-
 polis, and the rest is sold in the Baltic, or introduced into
 Germany by the way of Altena. Santa Cruz, though
 the most modern of all the Danish settlements, furnishes
 five-sevenths of this produce.

THIS island is divided into three hundred and fifty
 plantations by lines, which intersect each other at right
 angles,

(*t*) Between fifteen and sixteen shillings.

(*u*) About four shillings. (*w*) About eight shillings.

angles. Each plantation contains one hundred and fifty acres, of forty thousand square feet each ; so that it may occupy a space of twelve hundred common feet in length, by eight hundred in breadth. Two-thirds of this tract are fit for the growth of sugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourscore acres at a time, each of which will yield, one year with another, sixteen quintals of sugar without reckoning the molasses. The remainder may be employed in other cultivations less lucrative. When the island comes to be entirely cleared, some towns may be built upon it ; at present it has only the village of Christianstadt, built under the fort, which defends the principal harbour.

DENMARK cannot be ignorant, that the riches which begin to flow from her colonies, do not belong entirely to herself. A great part goes to the English and Dutch, who, without living upon the islands, have formed the best plantations in them. New England supplies them with wood, cattle, and meal, and receives in exchange molasses and other commodities. They are obliged likewise to import their wines, linens, and silks. Even India is concerned in this trade. Upon a strict calculation, perhaps, it might appear, that what remains to the proprietors, after the commission, freight, and duties are paid, is a very insignificant share. The situation of Denmark does not admit of her looking with indifference upon such a disadvantage. Every thing conspires to induce her to take proper measures for securing to herself the entire profits of her American possessions.

THE Danish territories in Europe were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions of a singular nature have united them into one kingdom. In the center of this heterogeneous composition are some islands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent

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Reasons
why Den-
mark
ought to
appropriate
to herself
the pro-
duce of all
her islands.

B O O K least port, which in the eleventh century was but a little
 { **XII.** fishing town; it became a place of importance in the

thirteenth, in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom, and since the fire in 1728, which consumed sixteen hundred and fifty houses, a handsome city. To the south of these islands is that long and narrow peninsula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Chersonesus. Jutland, Sleswick and Holstein, the most important and extensive parts of this peninsula have been successively added to the Danish dominions. They have been more or less flourishing, in proportion as they have felt the effects of the unsettled temper of the ocean, which sometimes retires from their coasts, and sometimes overwhelms them. In these countries, as well as in those of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which are subject to the same power, one may see a perpetual struggle between the inhabitants and the sea, so well sustained on each part, that the success has always been equal. The inhabitants of such a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not so. Mariners, islanders, and mountaineers, will not long remain under the disgrace of servitude.

Nor is Norway, which constitutes part of the Danish dominions, more adapted to servitude. It is covered with stones or rocks, and intersected by chains of barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either settled upon the sea-coasts, for the sake of fishing, or wandering through frightful deserts, and subsisting by the chase, by their furs and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miserable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanos and earthquakes, and conceals within its bowels a quantity of combustible matter, which in an instant may reduce it to a heap of ashes. With respect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an island, and which geographers consider as united

ed towards the west to the American continent, it is a **BOOK**
 vast and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally covered with snow. If ever these countries should become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at present that he rules over their wild inhabitants, because he calls himself their king, while they know nothing of the matter. **XII.**

THE climate of the Danish islands in Europe is not so severe as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulfs, which surround them, is sometimes interrupted, it is not so much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a mass. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coasts of Norway. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Berghen is scarcely once closed by ice, while that of Amsterdam, Lubec, and Hamburg, is shut up ten times in the course of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchased by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a disagreeable and melancholy residence, and its inhabitants gloomy and low-spirited.

THE population of this empire is not proportioned to its extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterprises, which succeeded to these, kept their numbers from increasing; and a total want of order and government put it out of their power to remedy evils of such magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his subjects, who fancy themselves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguishes even the hopes

BOOK hopes of an increase of population. The bills of mortality
 XII. of all the states of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; so that upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead person, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

INDEPENDENT of many other causes, the weight of imposts is a great obstacle to their prosperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on consumption. This oppression is the more unjust, as the crown possesses a very considerable domain, and has likewise a certain resource in the straits of the sound. Six thousand nine hundred and thirty ships, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually pass into, or out of the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that sea about one *per cent.* upon all the commodities they are laden with. This species of tribute, which though difficult to raise, brings into the state two millions, five hundred thousand livres, (*) is received in the bay of Elsinoor, under the guns of the castle of Cronenburg. It is astonishing, that the situation of this bay and that of Copenhagen, should not have suggested the idea of forming a staple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and south might meet and exchange the produce of their climates and their industry.

WITH the funds arising from tributes, domains, customs, and foreign subsidies, this state maintains an army of twenty-five thousand men, which is composed entirely of foreigners, and passes for the very worst militia in Europe. On the other hand, its fleet is in the highest reputation. It consists of thirty-two ships of the line, fifteen or sixteen frigates, and some galleys, the use of which,

(*) Near 110,000*l.* sterling.

which, though wisely prohibited in other parts, cannot be avoided on the coasts of the Baltic, which are for the most part inaccessible to vessels of other kinds. Twenty-four thousand registered seamen, most of whom are continually employed, form a certain resource for their navy. To their military expences, the government has of late years added others for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to these, four millions of livres (y) for the necessary expences and amusements of the court, and about the same sum for the interest of the national debt, amounting to about seventy millions (z). We shall account for the disposition of about twenty-three millions of livres (a), which form the revenue of the crown.

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If it was with a view of securing these several branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the use of jewels, and gold and silver stuffs, we may venture to say, there were plainer and easier means to be used for that purpose. They should have removed a multitude of difficulties, which clog the commercial intercourse of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The whale fishery, the Greenland and Iceland trade, once rescued from the bondage of monopolies, and that of the islands of Fero given up by the king, would have been pursued with new zeal. Their foreign connections would have received equal improvement if the Barbary company had been suppressed, and all the members of the state had been released from the obligation, which was imposed upon them in 1726, to buy their wine, salt, brandy, and tobacco, at Copenhagen.

IN

(y) 175,000*l.* sterling. (z) About 3,062,000*l.* sterling.
(a) About 1,006,000*l.* sterling.

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In the present state of affairs, their exportations are but small. In the provinces on the German continent, they consist of five or six thousand beeves, three or four thousand horses, fit for cavalry, and some rye, which is sold to the Swedes and Dutch. For some years past, Denmark has consumed all the wheat, which Fionia and Allan used to export to other nations. Those two islands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in those magnificent harnesses, which are purchased at so dear a rate by all who love fine horses. The trade of Norway consists of herrings, timber, masts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produce furs. From Iceland they get cod, whale blubber, seals, and manatees, sulphur, and that luxurious down so celebrated under the name of eider-down.

We shall close here the details, into which the commerce of Denmark has necessarily led us; and which are sufficient to convince that power, that nothing can contribute so much to her interests as having the sole possession and traffic of all the productions of her American islands. The more her possessions are limited in the new world, as she always will be within the torrid zone, the more attentive ought she to be, not to let any of the advantages she might draw from them escape her. In a state of mediocrity, the least negligence is attended with serious consequences. We shall presently have occasion to observe, that nations which are possessed even of extensive and rich territories, do not commit faults with impunity.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

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BOOK XIII.

Settlement of the French in the American islands.

FRANCE, ever since the fatal catastrophe of the First expedition, had been in perpetual confusion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppressions of a rapacious stranger, and the schemes of a weak-minded favourite. A despotic minister began to enslave the natives; when some of her sailors, excited as much by the desire of independence, as by the allurements of riches, turned sail towards the Leeward islands, in hopes of making themselves masters of the Spanish vessels that frequented those seas. Their courage had been successful on many occasions; but they were at last obliged, in order to rest, to seek for an asylum, which they found at St. Christopher's. This island appeared to them a proper place for securing the success of their expeditions, and they were, therefore, desirous of procuring a settlement upon it. Demambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to settle there, but likewise to extend as far as he would or could, in the great Archipelago of America. Government required for this permission

BOOK XIII. mission merely, without giving any assistance to the scheme, or encouraging it with any protection, a twentieth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

The French islands languish under exclusive privileges.

A company was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this concession. Such was the custom of those times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a state to be intrusted to private hands. This company obtained the greatest privileges. The government gave them the property of all the islands they should cultivate, and empowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant, from sixteen to sixty years of age. They were likewise to enjoy an exclusive right of buying and selling. A capital of forty-five thousand livres (*b*) only, and which was never increased to three times that sum, procured them all these advantages.

It seemed impossible to effect any greater matters with inadequate means. Yet, swarms of bold and enterprising men poured out from St. Christopher's, who hoisted the French flag in the neighbouring islands. Had the company which excited this spirit of invasion by a few privileges, acted upon a consistent and rational plan, the state must soon have reaped some advantage from this restless disposition. But unfortunately an inordinate thirst of gain made them become unjust and cruel; a fate that ever did, and ever will attend monopolizers.

THE Dutch, apprized of this tyranny, came and offered provisions and merchandise on far more moderate terms, and made proposals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between those republicans and the colonists, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the

(*b*) 1,968*l.* 15*s.*

the company in the new world, where it prevented the sale of their cargoes, but even pursued them in all the markets in Europe, where the interlopers underfold all the produce of the French islands. Discouraged by these deserved disappointments, the company sunk into a total inaction, which deprived them of most of their emoluments, without lessening any of their expences. In vain did the government remit the stipulated reserve of the twentieth part of the profit; this indulgence was not sufficient to restore their activity. Some of the proprietors were of opinion that by renouncing the destructive principles which had been hitherto adopted, they might still recover the ground they had lost: but the greater number thought it impracticable, maugre all their advantages, to cope with such frugal private traders as their rivals were. This opinion brought on a revolution. The company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not sink under the weight of their engagements, put their possessions up to auction: which were mostly bought up by their respective governors.

IN 1649, Boissieret purchased, for seventy-three thousand livres,^(c) Guadalupe, Marigalante, the island called *the Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on these several islands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but sixty-thousand livres^(d) for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he sold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for his whole purchase. In 1651, Malta bought St. Christopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thousand crowns,^(e) which were paid down by the commandant of Poincy, who governed

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those

^(c) 3,193*l.* 15*s.*^(d) 2,625*l.*^(e) 5,250*l.*

BOOK those islands. The knights of Malta were to hold them
XIII. in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to intrust any
 but a Frenchman with the administration of them.

THE new possessors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and disposed of the lands. All places both civil and military were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning those whom their deputies condemned to death; in short, they were so many petty sovereigns. It was natural to expect that as their domains were under their own inspection, agriculture would make a rapid progress. This conjecture was in some measure realized, notwithstanding the contests which were necessarily sharp and frequent under such masters. However, this second state of the French colonies did not turn out more beneficial to the nation than the first. The Dutch continued to furnish them with provisions, and to bring away the produce, which they sold indiscriminately to all nations, even to that, which ought to have reaped the sole advantage of it, because it was her own property.

THE mother-country suffered considerably from this evil, and Colbert mistook the means of redress. That great man, who had for some time presided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had set out upon a wrong plan. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue under the administration of Mazarin, had accustomed him to consider money, which is but an instrument of circulation, as the source of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readiest way to draw it from abroad; and that in the work-shops were to be found the best resources of the state, and in the tradesmen the most useful subjects of the monarchy. To increase the number of these men, he thought it best to keep the necessaries of life at a low price, and to discourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials

was the least object of his care, and he bent his whole at-
tention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of
industry to agriculture became the reigning taste, and
unfortunately this destructive system still prevails.

HAD Colbert entertained just notions of the improvement of lands and of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the husbandman must enjoy, he would have pursued in 1664 a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well known that he redeemed Guadalupe and its dependent islands for one hundred and twenty-five thousand livres; (f) Martinico for forty thousand crowns; (g) the Granades for a hundred thousand livres; (h) and all the possessions of Malta for five hundred thousand livres. (i) So far his conduct was deserving of commendation: it was fit he should restore so many branches of sovereignty to the body of the state. But he ought never to have submitted possessions of such importance to the oppressions of an exclusive company; a measure proscribed as much by past experience, as by reason. Ministry was probably in hopes that a society into which were to be incorporated those of Africa, Cayenne, and North-America, and what little trade was beginning to be carried on upon the coasts of St. Domingo, would become an irresistibly permanent power, from the great combinations it would have opportunities of forming, and the facility it would be supplied with of repairing from one quarter, the losses it might sustain in another. They thought to secure the future splendor of the company by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from interest for four years, by permitting the exportation of all provisions duty free into their settlements, and by prohibiting as much as they could, the competition of the Dutch.

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Nor-

(f) 5,468*l.* 1*s.*(g) 3,250*l.*(h) 4,375*l.*(i) 21,875*l.*

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NOTWITHSTANDING all these favours, the company was never in a flourishing state. The errors they fell into seemed to increase in proportion to the number of concessions that had been injudiciously bestowed upon them. The knavery of their agents, the disheartened condition of the colonists, the devastations of war with other causes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmost confusion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the state judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions, five hundred and twenty-three thousand livres, (k) and to reimburse them their capital of one million, two hundred eighty-seven thousand, one hundred and eighty-five livres. (l) These generous terms restored to the body of the state those valuable possessions which had been hitherto as it were alienated from it. The colonies were truly French, and all the citizens without distinction, were at liberty to go and settle there, or to open a communication with them.

The French islands recover their liberty. Obstacles which impede their success.

THEY were now freed from the chains under which they had so long been oppressed, and nothing seemed capable of abating the active spirit of labour and industry. The transports of joy this event occasioned in the islands, can hardly be expressed. Every individual gave a full scope to his ambition, and thought himself at the eve of making an immense fortune. If they were deceived in these expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their presumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct was such as justified and confirmed them. Unfortunately the prejudices of the mother country threw insurmountable difficulties in their way.

FIRST

(k) 154,311. 5s.

(l) 56,314*l*. 6*s*. 10*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$.

FIRST, it was required even in the islands, that every free man, and every slave of either sex, should pay a yearly poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw sugar. In vain did they remonstrate that the condition imposed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother country, was of itself a sufficient hardship, and a reason why they should be exempted from all other taxes. These representations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from necessity, or from ignorance on the part of government, those farmers who ought to have been assisted with loans without interest, or with gratuities, saw part of their harvest collected by greedy tax-gatherers; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increased their produce.

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WHILST the islands were thus stripped of part of their provisions, the spirit of monopoly was taking effectual measures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying them up was limited to a few sea-ports. This was a manifest infringement of the essential rights vested in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate restriction, because it lessened the number of buyers and sellers on the coasts.

To this disadvantage another was soon added. The ministry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign vessels from those distant possessions, and had succeeded, because they were in earnest. These navigators obtained from avarice the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchased of the French merchants passes to go to the colonies, where they took in their loadings, and carried them directly to their own country. This unfair dealing might have been punished and suppressed in many different ways, and they fixed upon the most pernicious.

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All ships were required to give in their return, not only at home, but likewise at the ports from whence they had sailed. This restraint necessarily brought on a considerable expence to no purpose, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

THE sale of sugar, the most important of these commodities, soon met with another check. The refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw sugars might be prohibited; in which they seemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alledged, that it was repugnant to all sound principles, that the original produce should be sent away to support foreign manufactures, and that the state should voluntarily deprive itself of the profits of so valuable a labour. This plausible reasoning made too much impression upon Colbert; and the consequence of it was; that the refining of sugar was kept up at the same exorbitant price, and the art itself never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who consumed this article: the French sugar-trade sank and that of the rival nations was visibly increased.

SOME of the colonists, observing that the system was not dropped notwithstanding this fatal experiment, solicited leave to fine their own sugars. They had so many means of going through this process at a trifling expence, that they flattered themselves they might soon recover that preference they had lost in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred weight of refined sugar they sent home, been clogged with a duty of eight livres(m) on entering the kingdom. All they could do under the load of this heavy imposition, was to bear up against the competition of the refiners in France. The produce of the respective

tive manufactures was all consumed at home, and those ^{BOOK XIII.} in power chose rather to relinquish an important branch of trade, than to own that they had been guilty of a mistake in prohibiting the importation of raw sugars.

From this period, the colonies, which supplied twenty-seven millions weight of sugar, could not dispose of it all in the mother-country, which consumed but twenty millions. The want of a demand made it needless to grow any more than what was necessary. This medium could only be settled in process of time, and before this was effected, the commodity sank to the lowest ebb. This fall, which was likewise owing to the negligent manner of refining it, was so great, that raw sugar, which sold for fourteen or fifteen livres, ⁽ⁿ⁾ per hundred, in 1682, fetched no more than five or six, ^(a) in 1713.

THE low price of the staple commodity would have made it impossible for the colonists to increase the number of their slaves, even if the government by its proceedings had not contributed to this mischief. The negro trade was always in the hands of exclusive companies, who imported but few, on purpose to keep up their price. We have good authority to assert that in 1698 there were not twenty thousand negroes in those numerous settlements; and it may safely be affirmed that most of these had been brought in by interlopers. Fifty-four ships of a moderate size were sufficient to bring over the whole produce of these colonies.

THE French islands could not but sink under so many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forsake them, and carry their industry elsewhere, their perseverance must be attributed to some trifling advantages, which still kept them in hopes of better times. The culture of tobacco, cocoa, indigo, cotton and arnotto, was rather encouraged.

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(n) Between 115. and 125.

(a) Not quite 5s. on an average.

BOOK Government supported it indirectly, by laying heavy duties on the foreign importation of these articles. This slight favour gave them time to wait for a happier revolution, which was brought about in 1716.

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AT this period, a plain and simple regulation was substituted in lieu of equivocal orders, which greedy officers of the revenue had from time to time extorted from the wants and weakness of government. The merchandise destined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities designed for home consumption were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three *per cent*. The duties laid upon foreign sugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in cases of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marseilles.

IN granting so many favours to her remote possessions, the mother-country was not unmindful of her own interests. All merchandise prohibited at home, was also forbidden in the colonies. To secure the preference to their own manufactures, it was enacted that even such goods as were not prohibited, should pay duty on their entry into France, although they were destined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furnish in competition, was exempted from this obligation.

THIS regulation would have been as good a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few sea-ports, should be general, and had released ships from the necessity of returning to the place from whence they came. These restraints limited the number of seamen, raised the expences of navigation, and prevented

vented the exportation of the territorial productions. BOOK
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 The persons who were then concerned in the government of the state ought to have been aware of these inconveniencies, and no doubt intended one day to restore to trade that freedom and action which alone can make it flourish. They were probably forced to sacrifice their own maxims to the clamours of men in office, who loudly disapproved of whatever clashed with their interest.

NOTWITHSTANDING this weakness, the colonists, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent soil, bestowed their utmost industry upon it, as soon as they were allowed that liberty. Their success astonished all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the new world, had but foreseen what they learned from experience a century later, the state might soon have enjoyed from the advantages of cultivation that wealth which would have added more to its prosperity than conquests. It would not then have been as much ruined by its victories as by its defeats. Those wise ministers who repaired the losses of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to see that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Christopher's given up at the peace of Utrecht. Their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreseen that in 1763, we should be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the English. Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After sacrificing thousands of lives to acquire and to preserve a remote possession, a greater number must still be lavished to lose it. Yet France has some important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of all the rest.

THE great extent of this immense country is evident from its very boundaries. It is limited on the east by the ocean; Settlement
of the
French in
Guiana.
Revolutions
of that
colony.
Its advantages and
its inconveniences.

B O O K ocean ; on the north by the Oronooko ; on the south by
XIII. the Amazons ; on the west by the Rio-negro, which
 joins those two rivers, the largest in South-America.
 Guiana, in this position, may be considered as an island,
 at least two hundred leagues over from north to south,
 and above three hundred from east to west.

THE people who roved about this vast tract, so fortunately bounded, before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into several nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the same as those of the savages of the southern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the rest, distinguished themselves by a remarkable custom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern such a people, it was necessary a man should have more strength, more intrepidity, and more knowledge than the rest of his brethren, and that he should give evident and public proofs of these superior qualifications.

THE man, therefore, who aspired to the honour of leading his fellow-creatures must of course be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fishing, and with all the springs and roads. He was obliged to endure long and severe fasts ; and was afterwards exposed to carry burthens of an enormous weight. He used to pass several nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waist in an ant's nest, where he remained for a considerable time, exposed to sharp and bloody stings. If in all these situations he shewed a strength and fortitude fit to cope with the dangers and hardships incident to the lives of savages ; if he was one who could endure every thing and fear nothing, he was declared to be the man. He withdrew, however, as if conscious of what his intended
 dignity

dignity required, and concealed himself under thick bushes. BOOK
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The people went out to seek him in a retreat, which made him more worthy of the post he seemed to shun. Each of the assistants trod upon his head, to shew him, that being raised from the dust by his equals, it was in their power to sink him into it again, if ever he should be forgetful of the duties of his station. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. After this political lesson, all the bows and arrows were thrown at his feet, and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

SUCH were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonso de Ojeda first landed there in 1499, with Americus Vesputius, and John de la Cosa. He went over a part of it; but this voyage afforded him only a superficial knowledge of so vast a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but turned out still more unsuccessful. Yet they were still persisted in, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A report prevailed, tho' its origin could not be discovered, that in the interior parts of Guiana, there was a country, known by the name of *del Dorado*, which contained immense riches in gold and precious stones, more mines and treasures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

SIR Walter Raleigh in particular one of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in singular characters, was seized with this enthusiasm. He was passionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation equal to that of the greatest men; he had more knowledge than those whose immediate pursuit was learning; he possessed a freedom of thinking uncommon in those days; and had a kind of romantic

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romantic turn in his sentiments and behaviour. This turn of mind determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without discovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he published an account, full of the most brilliant impostures that ever amused the credulity of mankind.

THE French had not waited for this fallacious testimony, to turn their thoughts towards so famous a country. They had long before embraced the general prejudice, with a vivacity peculiar to themselves. Whilst the hopes of their rivals were engaged on the side of the Oroonoko, they sought to realize their own expectations upon the river Amazon. After many fruitless excursions, they at length settled on the island of Cayenne in 1635.

SOME merchants of Rouen, thinking that this settlement might turn out to advantage, united their stock in 1643. They intrusted their affairs in the hands of a ferocious man, named Poncet de Bretigny, who having declared war both against the colonists and the savages, was soon murdered. This catastrophe having damped the courage of the associates, a fresh company started up in 1651, which seemed to bid fair for out-doing the former. They set out with so large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itself, seven or eight hundred colonists. These embarked on the Seine, in order to sail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the soul of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was stepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was assassinated in the passage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this deed, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flourishing condition, behaved there in as atrocious a manner

manner as might be expected from so horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number ; two died ; three were banished to a desert island : the rest abandoned themselves up to all kinds of excess. The commandant of the citadel deserted to the Dutch with part of his garrison. The remainder, that had escaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the savages, which had been roused by numberless provocations, thought themselves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward islands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandise, with five or six hundred dead bodies of their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the island.

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A new company was set on foot in 1663, under the direction of La Barré, master of requests. Their capital was no more than two hundred thousand livres(*p*). The assistance they obtained from the ministry, enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken possession of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by their countrymen. A year after, this small body made a part of that company and the possessions and privileges of all the rest were united. Cayenne returned into the hands of government, at that happy period which restored freedom to all the colonies. It was taken in 1667 by the English, and in 1676 by the Dutch ; but has never even been attacked since that time.

THIS settlement, so often overturned, had but just begun to be re-established, and to enjoy some tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of its success. Some pirates, laden with spoils they had gathered in the South Seas, came and fixed there ; and, what was of greater consequence, resolved to employ their treasures in the cultivation of
the

(*p*) 8,750*l.* sterling.

BOOK the lands. It was probable, that their plan would be
XIII. prosecuted with vigour, because their means were great; when Ducaffe, who was reputed an able seaman, came with some ships, in 1688, and proposed to them the plundering of Surinam. This roused their natural taste; the new colonists became pirates again, and almost all the inhabitants followed their example.

THE expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the besiegers fell in the attack, the rest were taken prisoners, and sent to the Caribbees, where they settled. The colony has never recovered this loss. Far from extending into Guiana, it has only languished at Cayenne.

THIS island is only parted from the continent by two rivers. It may be about sixteen leagues in circumference. By a disposition very uncommon in islands, and which makes it not very fit to be inhabited, the land is high near the water side, and low in the middle. Hence it is intersected with so many morasses, that all communication is impracticable, without taking a great circuit. Until the lands that are under water are drained, and secured from future inundations by dykes properly raised, there will be no place fit for culture, except the rising grounds. There are some small tracts of an excellent soil to be found there, but the generality is dry, sandy, and soon spent. The only town on the colony is defended by a covert way, a large ditch, a very good mud rampart, and five bastions. In the middle of the town, is a pretty considerable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made that is called the fort, where forty men might capitulate after the place had been taken. The entrance into the harbour is through a narrow canal, and ships can only get in at high water, through the rocks and reefs that are scattered about this pass.

THE

THE first produce of Cayenne, was the arnotto. THIS BOOK
XIII. This is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip white wool, whatever colour they intend to give it. The tree that yields this lye, has a reddish bark, and large, strong, and hard leaves, of a dark green. It is as high as a plumb-tree, and more bushy. The flowers, that grow in bunches, not unlike wild roses, are succeeded twice a year by pods, as prickly as the shell of a chestnut, but smaller. They contain some little seeds of a pale red, and these make the arnotto.

As soon as one of the eight or ten pods that grow in a bunch opens of itself, all the rest may be gathered. All the seeds are then to be taken out, and thrown directly into large troughs, full of water. When the fermentation begins, the seeds are to be bruised several times with wooden pestles, till the skin is all come off. The whole is then poured into sieves, made of rushes, which retain all the solid parts, and let out a thick, reddish, and fetid liquor into iron coppers. As it boils, the scum is skimmed off, and saved in large pans. When the liquor yields no more scum, it is thrown away as useless, and the scum poured back into the copper.

THIS scum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, must be constantly stirred with a wooden spatula, to prevent its sticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and somewhat hardened, it is spread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole business is finished.

FROM the culture of the arnotto, Cayenne proceeded to that of cotton, of indigo, and at last of sugar. It was the first of all the French colonies that attempted to grow coffee; which was brought thither in 1721 by some deserters, who purchased their pardon by conveying it from Surinam,

BOOK Surinam, where they had taken refuge. Ten or twelve
XIII.

years after they planted cocoa. In 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of sugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, 618 pieces of timber, and 104 planks, were exported from the colony. All these articles were the fruit of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks, which made up the whole of the colony.

SUCH, and weaker still, was the state of Cayenne, when, to the astonishment of the public, in 1763, the court of Versailles endeavoured to raise its consequence. The French had then just emerged from the horrors of an unsuccessful war. The situation of affairs had determined the ministry to purchase peace with the cession of several important colonies. It appeared equally necessary to make the nation forget her calamities, and the errors that had been the cause of them. The prospect of better fortune might amuse the people, and silence their clamours; while their attention was removed from possessions the nation had lost, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was given out, would compensate all their misfortunes.

THIS vast country, which was long decorated with the pompous title of Equinoxial France, was not the sole property of that power, as it had been formerly pretended. The Dutch, by settling to the north, and the Portuguese to the south, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pinçon; which limits were fixed by several treaties. These boundaries were equally distant from Cayenne, and the extent between them comprehends no less than a hundred leagues of the sea-coast. The navigation along this coast is extremely difficult, on account of the rapidity of the currents, and is continually

usually obstructed by small islands, banks of sand and of hardened mud, and by strong mangroves closely entangled that extend two or three leagues into the sea. There is no harbour, few places where ships can land, and the lightest sloops often meet with insuperable difficulties. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent are not more navigable. Their bed in many places is barred by huge rocks, which makes it impossible to sail through it. The shore, which is flat almost in all parts, is mostly overflowed by the spring-tides. In the inland country, most of the low lands are only morasses in the rainy season. Then there is no safety but upon higher ground. These torrents of water, however, that suspend all the labours of the field, moderate the heat of the weather, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures can only be formed of the population of the inland parts. That of the sea coast may amount to nine or ten thousand men, divided into several nations, the most powerful of which are the Galibis. Some missionaries, by great attention and perseverance, have found means to fix some of those roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, against whom they had with reason entertained the most formidable prejudices. The first adventurers who frequented this region, took away or brought men, whom they condemned to the hardest labours of slavery on the very soil where they were born free, or sold them to the colonists of the Leeward islands. Their common price at first was twenty pistoles (q) a head. Happily for the inhabitants, they rose so exorbitantly in their demands, that no purchasers could be found. It was thought better to purchase negroes, who

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were

(q) 16*l.* 15*s.*

BOOK were almost as expert at hunting and fishing, and much
 XIII. more so at the labours of the great plantations that were
 then carrying on in every part.

GUIANA, as we have described it, appeared a very valuable resource to the French ministry, reduced as they were to the necessity of repairing the great mistakes they had committed. A few considerations will enable us to judge of their motives.

AMERICA presents itself to Europe under two different views. It offers to those who emigrate from us, two zones to be peopled and cultivated, the torrid, and the temperate northern zone. The first, more fruitful, and more rich, but merely so in articles of luxury and indulgence, must of course afford a brighter prospect, and convey a speedier and more extensive influence to the powers that made themselves masters of it. This zone being more apparently calculated for despotism, because the heat of the climate and the fertility of the soil, dispose men to become slaves for the sake of quiet and pleasure, was therefore most fit to be in the hands of absolute monarchies, and to be peopled with slaves, who should only cultivate such productions as were proper to enervate the vigour and elasticity of the fibres, by increasing the number of our quick sensations. The mines that abound there, affording wealth without labour, must naturally hasten the decay of states, by the occasion they afford of exciting our desires and our facility of enjoyments. The nations that inhabit that zone must of course, either fall into indolence, or engage in undertakings suggested by a ruinous ambition, which becomes the more so from its first successes. Mistaking the fruit or sign of wealth for the creative principle of political strength, those states fondly imagined, that with money they could keep the nations in their pay as they kept the negroes in their chains;
 and

and never considered that the very money which would **BOOK**
procure allies, would make of them so many powerful **XIII.**
enemies; who, uniting their arms with foreign riches,
would exert this double force to subvert the whole.

THE temperate zone of North-America could only attract free and laborious people. It furnishes no productions but what are common and necessary; and which, for that very reason, are a never failing source of wealth and strength. It favours population, by supplying materials for that peaceful and sedentary husbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate desires, is a security against invasion. It extends through an immense continent, and presents a large extent, on every side open to navigation. Its coasts are washed by a sea which is generally in a navigable state, and abounds with harbours. The colonists are not at so great a distance from the mother country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and in a situation that is fit for hunting, fishing, husbandry, and for all the manly exercises and labours which improve the strength of the body, and are preservatives against the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America as in Europe, the north will get the better of the south. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations, whilst the other will lavish its voluptuous liquors and its golden mines. The one will be able to polish the savage nations by their intercourse with a free people; the other will never form but a monstrous and feeble mixture of a race of slaves with a nation of tyrants.

It was of consequence to the southern colonies to have the roots of population and vigour in the north, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for those of necessity, and keep open a communication that might afford them succours if they were attacked; a retreat in

BOOK case they were defeated, and a supply of land forces to
XIII. balance the weakness of their naval resources.

BEFORE the last war, the French southern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by its situation, the warlike genius of its inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendship with the French, and fond of the frankness and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at least give umbrage to New-England. The loss of that great continent determined the French ministry to seek for support from another. Guiana was thought to be no bad substitute, if a free and national population could be established there, which might be able to resist foreign attacks, and in course of time, to furnish a speedy assistance to the other colonies, when circumstances might require it.

SUCH was evidently the system of the minister. He did not imagine, that a region thus inhabited, could ever enrich the mother country by the produce of such commodities as are peculiar to the southern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no such thing as selling, without complying with the general run of the market, and that this cannot be done but by producing saleable commodities at the same rate as other nations can afford them, and that labours executed by free men, must of necessity bear a much higher price than those that are exacted from slaves.

THE measures were directed by an active minister. As a wise politician, who does not sacrifice safety to wealth, he only proposed to raise a bulwark to protect the French possessions. As a philosopher, who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and respects the rights of humanity, he wished to people these fertile but desert regions with free men. But genius, especially when too impatient of success, cannot foresee every circumstance. The
 mistake

mistake proceeded from supposing that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; that men, who quitted their own country only in hopes of living more comfortably abroad, would accommodate themselves to the precarious subsistence of a savage life, in a worse climate than that which they had left; or lastly, that it would be an easy matter to establish an intercourse of importance between Guiana and the French islands.

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THIS bad system, which the government was drawn into by a set of bold men, who were either misled by their presumption, or who sacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed as it had been inconsiderately adopted. All was jumbled together, without any principle of legislation, and without considering in what manner nature had suited the several lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two classes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. They were not aware, that this division, at present established in Europe and in most civilized nations, was the consequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberless chances which time brings on; that it was the effect of the progress of sociability, not the basis and foundation of society, which in its beginning requires that all her members should partake of her property. Colonies, which are new populations and new societies, ought to adhere to this fundamental rule. It was here broken through at first setting out, by allotting lands in Guiana to those only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whose desires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this division of lands. This was a fault both against sound policy and humanity. Had they granted a portion of land to every new inhabitant that was sent

B O O K over to this barren and desert country, each would have
XIII. cleared his own spot, and have tilled it in proportion to his strength or abilities, one with the assistance of his money, another by his own labour. It was necessary that those who were possessed of a capital should neither be discouraged, because they were men of great consequence to a rising colony, nor that they should have an exclusive preference given them, lest it should prevent them from meeting assistants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was also indispensably necessary, that every member of the new transmigration should be offered some property, with which he might turn his labour, his industry, his money, in a word, his greater or lesser powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreseen, that Europeans, in whatever situation, would not quit their own country but in hopes of better fortune, and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this respect, would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be established.

IN vain did government supply the colonists with two years subsistence. This was too much provision at once. It must spoil, either in the transport, or at the end of the voyage. The very passage, in which some part must be consumed, and the rest injured, could not but make these provisions dear, scarce, and noxious. A hot climate, and a damp country, would be additional causes of putrefaction among the eatables, and of sickness and mortality among the men. It would have been a folly to pretend to carry over from Europe to Guiana a sufficient quantity of live cattle to furnish fresh meat every day for a numerous colony. Most of them would have died, either in the passage or at their arrival; for as animals are more immediately under the direction of nature, they are the more affected by the sudden alterations of the air, and by the change of climate and food.

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THE increase of cattle should have preceded that of BOOK
XIII. men. Both should have multiplied by degrees, and the seeds of culture in that distant region have been laid in, before the inhabitants were become too numerous. The first transports should have been small, and attended with every advance; every assistance necessary for clearing the lands. In proportion as the infant colony should have produced enough and even more than was necessary for their own consumption, the purchase of the overplus would have become a source of increase. Agriculture and population would then have mutually assisted and promoted each other. The new colonists would have drawn others after them, and society, like individuals, would have arrived at its proper strength and maturity in the space of twenty years.

THESE very simple and natural reflections never occurred to the contrivers of this scheme. Twelve thousand men, after a tedious navigation, were landed upon dreary and inhospitable shores. It is well known that almost throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two seasons, the dry and the rainy. In Guiana, such heavy rains fall from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at least unfit for tillage. Had the new colonists arrived there in the beginning of the dry season, and been placed on the lands destined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and sow their fields.

FOR want of these precautions, they knew not where to bestow such multitudes of people as were constantly pouring in just at the rainy season. The island of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreshment of the new comers, till they could have been disposed of; there they would have found lodging and

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assistance. But the false notion which prevailed, that the new colony must not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this resource. In consequence of this prejudice, twelve thousand victims were landed on the banks of the Kourou, on a ridge of sand, amidst a number of unwholesome little islands, and only sheltered under a miserable awning. In this situation, totally inactive, and weary of existence, they gave themselves up to all the irregularities that idleness necessarily produces among a set of low men, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign sky; there they fell into a state of misery and were seized with contagious distempers, the necessary consequences of such a situation, and their wretched fate was at length terminated in all the horrors of despair. Their ashes will for ever cry out for vengeance on the impostors who promoted this fatal scheme, on which such great expences have been bestowed, in the sudden destruction of so many unfortunate men; as if the devastations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not swept away a sufficient number in the course of eight years.

THAT nothing might be wanting to complete this horrid tragedy, fifteen hundred men, who had escaped the mortality, were washed away by the floods. They were distributed upon lands, where they were overflowed at the return of the rains, and every one of them perished, without leaving behind them a single mark of posterity, or the least trace of their memory.

THE state has deeply lamented this loss, and has impeached and punished the authors of it; but how grievous is it for our country, for the subjects, for every soul that is sensible of the value of French blood, to see it thus lavished upon ruinous enterprizes, by an absurd jealousy of authority, which enjoins the most rigorous secrecy upon all public operations. Is it not then the in-
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terest of the whole nation that her chiefs should be well BOOK
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informed? and how can they be so but from collecting general information? Why should projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the instrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inspire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be had from public writings, where truth appears undisguised, and falsehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private schemes, are commonly the work of crafty and interested men, who insinuate themselves into the cabinets of persons in administration, by dark, oblique and indirect ways. When a prince or a minister has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men, if he is unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But when enterprizes are undertaken without the advice or against the sense of the people; when events are brought on unknown to those whose lives and fortunes are exposed by them; what can this be but a secret league, a combination of a few individuals against the bulk of society? Can it be possible that authority should think itself degraded by an intercourse with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the rest of mankind with so great a degree of contempt, as not even to desire that the injuries they have done them should be forgiven?

WHAT has been the consequence of that catastrophe, in which so many subjects, so many foreigners, have been sacrificed to the illusions of the French ministry with respect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been abused with all the rancour with which resentment and misfortune can aggravate its real evils. It has been asserted, that colonies would never be brought to flourish there, even if those very principles of culture and administration

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tion by which all other colonies have prospered were to be adopted. This opinion is grounded upon the barrenness of the soil, the excessive dampness of the climate, the prodigious swarms of ants that infest the country, and the facility the slaves have of deserting from their labour. There is some truth, but there is likewise some exaggeration in these complaints.

BECAUSE the island of Cayenne is not very fertile, it cannot surely without injustice be inferred that the neighbouring continent is altogether as rebellious to the labours of cultivation. Those who draw this inference have gone no further than the marshy coasts of this vast country. But observers, who have penetrated into the inland parts, are quite of a different opinion, and the few experiments already made, contradict a prejudice founded merely on the first appearances.

THE apprehensions arising from the duration of the rains are not so ill-grounded. This defect in the seasons endangers the lives of the cultivators, increases the fatigues of their labour, and renders their crops precarious, especially that of sugar, which has hitherto been less plentiful on the continent, and inferior in quality to that which comes from the islands. But it is not to be doubted, that the inundations will in a great measure subside, when the woods are cleared away, which have covered these vast deserts from the beginning of the world. Trees attract the rains and dews; and keep the ground damp by excluding the rays of the sun. If we remove these great vegetables, which by their deep roots and wide-extended bows, absorb and pump up all the juices of vegetation that circulate either in the inside, or in the atmosphere of the globe, nothing will remain but a moisture which will be of use to the plantations.

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At present the greater part of them are overrun with **BOOK**
ants, and many to such a degree as sometimes to baffle **XIII.**
the best grounded hopes. But this is an evil that has
molested every new settlement in America; and which
in time they have got rid of. Many do not now
suffer any inconvenience from it, the rest but little.
Guiana will be less and less infested with these insects,
in proportion as the lands are cleared.

As to the negroes, if there is any danger of their run-
ning away, gathering in troops, and intrenching them-
selves in the woods, it is the tyranny of their masters
that drives them to it. No doubt this inconvenience is
greater on the continent than in the islands; but the de-
sertion of these poor wretches will be prevented when-
ever their condition is made tolerable. The law of ne-
cessity, which restrains even tyrants, will prescribe that
moderation in Guiana, that humanity alone should in-
spire every where.

THE obstacle least attended to, though the most in-
superable of all, is the difficulty, nay the impossibility of
undertaking any considerable plantations on the coasts of
Guiana. That coast which lies to the south of Cayenne,
for the space of twenty leagues, presents nothing but a
bog, which is overflowed by the tides twice a month, at
the new and full moon; and dried up again in the in-
terval between these two periods. The coast, on the
north, is constantly under water, for six months in the
year, and its fertility must therefore be very precarious.
The sugar-cane dies there the first time it bears, which
increases labour without augmenting the produce. In
other respects this part of the coast is also very unwhole-
some. An easterly wind constantly drives thither all the
malignant vapours which the heat of the sun draws from
the swampy grounds of the southern coast.

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THE rivers of Cayenne, Aprouac, Oyapoko, Kourou, and Maroni, are not liable to the same inconveniences in their course. Upon the river Sinemary there still are five or six hundred men subsisting, who escaped from the general disasters of the colony. They enjoy the most perfect health; their little plantations succeed to the utmost of their wishes; and the increase of their cattle is prodigious. The same advantages are to be expected from the highest borders of the other rivers; some of them are even fitter to be navigated, either in boats, or small vessels.

ALL these discussions evidently shew that France ought not to give up the cultivation of Guiana. At first, the sugar will be watery and insipid, and there will be but little of it; but it has seldom been better in any grounds that have been newly cleared. Coffee, cocoa, and cotton are better in Guiana than in the Leeward islands. Tobacco must thrive there. Indigo, which formerly grew there in great plenty, has degenerated, but may be retrieved by fresh seeds from St. Domingo. The arnotto is of no great value there, but the sale of it is certain. The Vanilla is the natural produce of the country; but no profit has been hitherto made of it, because the pods rot as soon as they are gathered. It would, however, be an easy matter to inquire into the method of managing the trees that bear it, and to enrich Guiana with this branch of trade.

LARGE exportations of rice, wood, cattle and salt-fish can hardly be expected from thence. The colony might, indeed, attempt these things, but a good market would be wanting. The only one within reach would be the French windward islands, and this could never be very considerable. Those settlements having nothing to
give

give in exchange for these commodities, the expences of **B O O K**
navigation would necessarily make the trade flag. **XIII.**

BUT still this last connection may fail, and yet that between Guiana and the mother-country will not suffer in the least. The whole will depend upon the encouragement the court of Versailles may bestow upon the establishment. It is not attended with more difficulties than that of Surinam was, where more constant labour and greater means have never produced so much increase as in the islands. Yet Surinam is at this day covered with rich plantations. Why should not France put Guiana upon a footing with this colony of the Dutch? This may be done by giving such advantages and gratuities as every state ought to sacrifice when large tracts of lands, which may turn out to be of great utility, are to be cleared. These clearings of rude lands are real conquests over chaos for the advantage of all mankind; different from those conquests which depopulate whole provinces, and lay them waste, in order to seize upon them; which cost the blood of two nations to enrich neither; which must be defended at a great expence, and covered with troops for ages, before the peaceable possession of them can be secured. Guiana requires nothing but labours and inhabitants. How powerful the motives for encouraging both!

THIS colony may at pleasure multiply its cattle and increase its subsistence. It would be difficult to invade it, and still more to block it up; therefore it will never be conquered. The Leeward islands, on the contrary, already once lost, are looked upon with a wishful eye by a nation exasperated at the restitution of them. Her chagrin makes it probable she will always be disposed to recover by force of arms what she has lost by negotiation. The well-grounded confidence she places in
in

BOOK in her navy, and in the flourishing condition of her northern colonies, will perhaps soon engage her in a fresh war, in order to retake what was given up at the last peace. Should fortune again favour the wise administration of her happy government; should a people, encouraged by victories of which they themselves reap the benefits, always get the better of a nation that fights only for her kings; Guiana would at least afford a great resource, where all such articles as custom has made necessary, might be cultivated, and for which an enormous duty must be paid to foreigners, if the nation cannot be supplied with them from her own colonies.

NOTHING has yet been done towards securing the advantages which this settlement presents. In January 1769, it consisted only of 1,291 free men, and 8,047 slaves. The herds did not amount to more than 1,923 head of black cattle, and 1,077 of small. The produce of the colony was even inadequate to these means, small as they were, because the works were carried on by white men without skill, and blacks without subordination. Time will bring on more knowledge and better discipline. Till that happy period arrives, let us turn from Guiana, and proceed to St. Lucia.

The possession of St. Lucia for a long time disputed, is at last ceded to the French.

THE English took possession of this island without opposition in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ship of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off some Caribs who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occasioned the savages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended savages; and in August 1640, they all fell upon the new colony. In their fury, they murdered all that came in their way. The few who escaped

escaped their vengeance, quitted for ever a settlement that could be in no great forwardness. BOOK
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In the first ages of the world, before civil societies were formed and polished, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he pleased for his own use, and even to consume it, if it was of a perishable nature. The use that was thus made of common right supplied the place of property. The moment any one had in this manner possessed himself of any thing, another could not take it from him without injustice. It was in this point of view which can only be applied to the primitive state of nature, that the European nations considered America when it was first discovered. They thought nothing of the natives, and imagined they were sufficiently authorised to seize upon any country, if no other nation of our continent was in possession of it. Such was constantly and uniformly the only public right observed in the new world, and which we have not been ashamed to avow and attempt to justify in this century, during the late hostilities.

From these principles, which the author of a philosophical history of commerce would to be ashamed approve, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it first. They sent over forty inhabitants in 1650, under the conduct of Rouffelan, a brave, active, prudent man, and singularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, destroyed all the good he had begun to do. Three of his successors were murdered by the discontented Caribs, who were dissatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was but in a drooping condition,

BOOK tion, when it was taken in 1664 by the English, who
 XIII. evacuated it in 1666.

THEY were scarce gone, when the French appeared again on the island. Whatever was the cause, they had not increased their number much, when the enemy that had driven them out before, again forced them to quit their habitations twenty years after. Some, instead of evacuating the island, took refuge in the woods. As soon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invasion, were gone, they resumed their labours; but only for a short time. The war, which soon after raged in Europe, made them apprehensive that they might fall a prey to the first privateer that should take a fancy to come and plunder them, they therefore removed in search of quiet, to other French settlements, where they might hope for better protection. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came thither to cut wood, and to build canoes, and who had considerable docks on the island.

SOME soldiers and sailors having deserted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marshal d'Estrees petitioned for a grant of the island. No sooner was it obtained in 1718, but he sent over a commandant, troops, cannon and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, which had a kind of claim to this island, from prior settlement, as that of Versailles had, from almost-uninterrupted possession. Their complaints determined the French ministry to order that things should be put into the same condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear sufficient to the English, or whether it gave them room to think they might venture upon any thing, they themselves gave St. Lucia in 1722 to the duke of Montagu, who sent to take possession of it.

it. This clashing of interests occasioned some disturbance BOOK
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between the two courts; which was settled however in 1731 by an agreement made, that till the respective claims should be finally adjusted, the island should be evacuated by both nations, but that both should wood and water there.

THIS precarious agreement furnished an opportunity for private interest to act. The English no longer molested the French in the enjoyment of their habitations; but employed them as a channel to assist them in carrying on with richer colonies, smuggling connections, which the subjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has continued more or less brisk till the treaty of 1763, which secured to France the long contested property of St. Lucia.

THE first use which the court of Versailles proposed to make of her acquisition, was to fix a magazine there. It had been the general opinion for some years past, that the wood and cattle of North-America was absolutely necessary for these southern colonies. It was found inconvenient to carry them directly thither, and St. Lucia was pitched upon as a very proper place for the exchange of these commodities against the molasses of Martinico and Gaudalupe. Experience soon shewed that this scheme was impracticable. What became of St. Lucia in the hands of the French.

To bring it to bear, the English must either deposit their cargoes in store-houses, or keep them on board, or sell them to traders settled on the island: three things equally impossible.

THESE sailors will never consent to lose sight of their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of, for their food, or from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for ware-houses for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky

BOOK XIII. a commodity to be worth the charge of store-room. Not
 can it be expected that they should quietly sit on board
 their ships, waiting till some traders should come from
 the French islands to deal with them : the nature of their
 trade will not admit of such delays. The only remaining
 way of managing this, would be by means of traders who
 might settle on the island as brokers ; but the profit they
 must necessarily make, would enhance the price of the
 goods so much, that it would be impossible to carry on
 the trade through their channel.

THE difficulties are not less on the side of the owners
 of molasses, than on that of the dealers in northern com-
 modities. Accustomed to sell their spirit at thirty-five or
 thirty-six livres (*r*) a barrel, they would never consent to
 an abatement of two-fifths, which must be allowed for
 carriage, emptying out, and commission. If the Eng-
 lish are obliged to pay an higher price for the molasses,
 they must of course raise that of their own commo-
 dities, and this advance will make them too dear for the
 consumer.

THE French ministry, undeceived as to their first no-
 tion, without formally giving it up, have turned their
 thoughts to the cultivation of St. Lucia. In 1763, they
 sent over at a great expence, and with unnecessary pa-
 rade, seven or eight hundred men, whose unhappy fate is
 more a matter of pity than surprize. Under the tropics,
 the best established colonies always destroy one third
 of the soldiers that are sent thither, though they are
 healthy stout men, and find good accommodations : it is
 no wonder then, that a set of miserable wretches, picked
 up from the dunghills of Europe, and exposed to all the
 hardships of indigence, and all the horrors of despair,
 should

(*r*) About 1*l*. 1*ss*.

should most of them perish in an uncultivated and un-
wholesome island.

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THE advantage of peopling this colony was reserved to the neighbouring settlements. Some Frenchmen, who had sold, upon very profitable terms to themselves, their plantations at the Granades to the English, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincents, incensed at being obliged to buy lands which they themselves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the same course. Martini-co also furnished some inhabitants, whose possessions were either not sufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and traders who devoted part of their stock to husbandry. Each of these has obtained the free grant of a spot of land proportioned to his powers. Those whose means were small, have confined themselves to such labours as required no great advances. Those who were richer have soared to greater undertakings.

THERE are already nine parishes on the colony, eight to leeward, and only one to windward. This preference given to one part of the island, is not for the sake of a better soil, but for the conveniency of the shipping. In time, that part that was neglected at first, will likewise be inhabited, as there are bays continually discovered, in which canoes may put in, and receive all kinds of commodities on board.

A road which goes all round the island, and two others that cross it from east to west, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In process of time, and with some expence, these roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was possible they should be at first, without running into expences too burdensome for a settlement in its infant state. The interruptions occasioned by the making these

B O O K roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited much murmuring, but the colonists now begin to bless the wise and steady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit.

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On the first of January, 1772, the population of the white people in the island amounted to 2018 souls, men, women, and children; that of the blacks to 663 freemen, and 12,795 slaves. The cattle consisted of 928 mules or horses, 2070 head of horned cattle, and 3184 sheep or goats. There were thirty-eight sugar-plantations, which occupied 978 pieces of land; 5,395,889 coffee-trees; 1,321,600 cocoa plants; and 367 plots of cotton. They were divided into seven hundred and six dwelling places. The present produce is four millions of livres (s), a revenue which for some time to come must increase one-eighth every year.

A general prejudice prevailed in these islands against St. Lucia. It was said, that nature had refused it every advantage necessary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, its dry and stony soil could never pay the expence of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly destroy every man, who, from a greedy desire of enriching himself, or who driven by despair, should be bold enough to settle there. These notions were universally received.

SUCCESSFUL experience must at length undeceive the most prejudiced person. The soil of St. Lucia is not a bad one even by the sea side, and grows better the further we advance up the country. The whole of the island may be cultivated with success, except some high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of old volcanoes. In one deep valley there are still eight or ten ponds, the water of which boils up in a most dreadful manner,

(s) 175,000*l*.

manner, and retains some of its heat at the distance of six thousand toises from its reservoirs. There are not indeed many extensive plains on the island, but several small ones, where the growth of sugar may be carried to fifteen millions weight. The shape of the island, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage easy, wherever the canes are planted.

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THE air in the inland parts of St. Lucia, is the same as it was in all the other islands before they were inhabited, foul and unwholesome at first; but less noxious as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air on some part of the sea-coast is more unhealthy. On the leeward side the lands receive some small rivers, which springing from the foot of the mountains, have not a slope sufficient to wash down the sands with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this insurmountable barrier, they spread into unwholesome morasses upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reason had been sufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were found upon the island when it was first discovered. The French, driven into the new world by a more powerful motive than even self-preservation, have been less careful than the savages. It is in this very spot that they have chiefly fixed their plantations. They will sooner or later be punished for their blind rapaciousness, unless they erect dikes, and dig canals, to drain off the waters. The health they enjoy along the rivers, where the ships are careened, and those in which the rain waters are collected, which fall into deeper bays, seems to indicate that this expedient would succeed.

THE character and abilities of the Earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorize us to affirm, that when this island, which is about forty-five leagues in circumference, has attained the degree of cultivation it is capa-

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ble of, it may employ fifty thousand slaves, and furnish trade with commodities to the amount of ten millions (£) yearly. This period of prosperity cannot even be far off, as the activity of the planters is released from those fetters which have retarded their progress every where else. Fifty men, appointed to maintain public order, are all the troops they have at St. Lucia. They pay no taxes, directly nor indirectly. Ships of all nations are admitted into their roads, and pay nothing at coming in or going out. Every one is free to bring thither what goods he can sell at the cheapest rate, and to carry away such commodities as will fetch the best price. Ever since Europe has acquired possessions in America, none has met with more indulgence. Such singular favour must undoubtedly have a period, and this island, like all the others, will one day be brought under the yoke of restrictive laws. But a few years peace and freedom will enable her to bear this burden.

Schemes
of France
to secure to
itself the
possession
of St. Lu-
cia.

BEFORE this burden is imposed, the mother country will take care to secure to herself the produce of an island which she has put into a flourishing condition. To keep possession of it, it will be sufficient to defend the Carriacou harbour.

THIS famous harbour unites many advantages. It has good soundings every where, with an excellent bottom. Nature has provided it with three careening places, which make a wharf needless, and only require the capstern to heave the ship down on the shore. Thirty ships of the line might ride safely there, and be sheltered from the hurricanes, without the trouble of mooring. The boats of that country, which have lain there for a long while, have never been injured by the worms; it is not, however, expected that this advantage will continue, whatever may be the

the immediate cause of it. The winds are always favourable for going out; and the largest squadron would be cleared out in less than an hour. BOOK
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So favourable a situation is able not only to defend all the national possessions, but also to threaten those of the enemy throughout America. The naval forces of England cannot cover all parts. The smallest squadron sent out from St. Lucia, would in a few days invade those colonies, which, being least exposed, would think themselves quite secure. The only way to prevent mischief from that quarter, would be to block up the Careenage; and even then, the purport of so costly and tiresome a cruise might be defeated, by a man who should be daring enough to undertake all that can be achieved at sea.

THIS harbour is subject to the inconvenience of exposing every ship that comes within sight; and has never appeared worthy the attention of the British nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to consider, that ships are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ships. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greatest maritime defence, a position that will not allow a ship under sail to enter. She must be warped for a considerable space before she can get into it. There is no plying to windward between the two points. The soundings increasing suddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the assailants to come to an anchor. Only one ship can come in at a time, and she would be exposed to the fire of three masked batteries, in front and on both sides.

A ship that would attack the harbour, would be under a necessity of landing at Shoque-bay, a shore a league long, which is only parted from the Careenage by the point

BOOK XIII. called Vigie, which forms this bay. Once master of the

Vigie, the enemy would sink every ship in the harbour, or least compel them to bring to; and that without any loss on their side, because this peninsula, though commanded by a citadel, built on the other side of the harbour, would cover the assailants by its own back. They would only have occasion for mortars, and neither fire a single gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

If shutting up the entrance of the harbour against the enemy were sufficient, it would be needless to fortify Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ships of our own nation must be protected. It is necessary that a small squadron should be able to set the English forces at defiance; compel them to block the place up; take advantage of their absence or of some error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninsula. It must be considered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there are any ships in the harbour, their sailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the safety of the squadron. If there are no vessels in the harbour, the Vigie will be left defenceless, for the following reason,

On the other side of the harbour there is an eminence, called the Fortunate Morne. The flat on the top offers one of those favourable situations that are seldom to be met with, for erecting a citadel, which would require no less a force to attack it, than the best fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be put in execution, will have the advantage of defending the Careenage bay on all sides, of commanding all the eminences that surround it, and of making it impossible for the enemy to enter; of securing the

the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain, in short, of hindering the assailants from penetrating into the island, even if they had actually landed at Shoque, and made themselves masters of Vigie. Further discussions on the means of preserving St. Lucia must be left to the professors of the art. Let us now fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

THIS island is sixteen leagues in length, and forty-five The in circumference, leaving out the capes, which sometimes extend two or three leagues into the sea. It is very uneven, and intersected in all parts by a number of hillocks, which are mostly of a conical form. Three mountains rise above these lesser eminences. The highest bears the indelible marks of a volcano. The woods with which this is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occasions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inaccessible, whilst the two others are in most parts cultivated. From these mountains, but chiefly from the first, issue the many springs that water the island. These waters, which flow in gentle streams, are changed into torrents on the slightest storm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the soil they traverse; in some places they are excellent, in others so bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy season.

DENAMBUC, who had sent to reconnoitre Martinico, sailed from St. Christopher's in 1635 to settle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foresaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would for the most part perish soon after their arrival, either from the climate, or from the hardships incident to most emigrations. The sole founders of this new colony were a hundred men who had long lived in his government of St. Christopher's. They were brave,
active,

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French settle at Martinico upon the ruins of the Caribs.

BOOK XIII. Active, inured to labour and fatigues; skillful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants and all necessary seeds.

THEY completed their first settlement very quietly. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or seduced by fair promises, gave up to the French the western and southern parts of the island, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of short duration. The Caribs, when they saw these enterprising strangers daily increasing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unless they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the savages of the neighbouring islands to their assistance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with such a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving seven or eight hundred of their best warriors dead upon the spot. After this check they disappeared for a long while, and when they came back, it was with presents and penitent speeches. They were received in a friendly manner, and the reconciliation was sealed with some pots of brandy that were given them to drink.

THE labours had been carried on with difficulty till this period. The fear of a surprise obliged the colonists of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the center, and which was always kept in a state of defence. There they slept secure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of pistols at his girdle. These precautions were needless when the two nations came to be on friendly terms. But the one whose friendship and favour had been courted, took such undue advantages of her superiority, to extend her usurpations, that she soon rekindled a half extinguished hatred in the breast of the other. The savages, whose
man-

manner of life requires a vast extent of land, finding themselves daily more straitened, had recourse to stratagem, to weaken an enemy whom they durst not attack, by force. They separated into small bands, way-layed the French, who frequented the woods, waited till the sportsman had fired his piece, and before he had time to load it again, rushed upon him and destroyed him. Twenty men had been thus murdered, before any one was able to account for their disappearance. As soon as the circumstance was found out, the aggressors were pursued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children massacred, and those few that escaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there after.

THE French, by this retreat, now become sole masters of the island, lived quietly upon those spots which best suited their plantations. They were then divided into two classes. The first consisted of such as had paid their passage to America: and these were called inhabitants. The government distributed lands to them, which became their absolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch, by turns, and to contribute in proportion to their abilities towards the necessary expences for the public welfare and safety. These had under their command a multitude of disorderly people brought over from Europe at their expence whom they called, *engagés*, or, bondsmen. This engagement was a kind of slavery for the term of three years. When their time was expired, the bondsmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of those whom they had served.

THEY all confined themselves at first to the culture of tobacco and cotton; to which was soon added that of the arnotto and indigo. The culture of sugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacosta, one of those
Jews

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Jews who are beholden for their industry to that very oppression which their nation is now fallen under, after having exercised it upon others, planted some cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the colonists who had not a sufficient fund to undertake sugar plantations. One of those calamities which the seasons bring on, sometimes upon men and sometimes upon plants, destroyed all the cocoa trees in 1718. This spread a general consternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee tree was then held out to them as a plank to mariners after a shipwreck.

THE French ministry had received as a present from the Dutch two of these trees, which were carefully preserved in the royal garden of plants. Two shoots were taken from these. Mr. Desclieux, who was intrusted to carry them over to Martinico, happened to be on board a ship which fell short of water. He shared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and by this generous sacrifice, saved the precious trust that had been put into his hands. His magnanimity was rewarded. The coffee thrived at an amazing rate, and this virtuous patriot enjoys with a heart-felt satisfaction, the uncommon felicity of having as it were saved an important colony, and enriched it with a fresh branch of industry.

INDEPENDENT of this resource, Martinico was possessed of those natural advantages, which seemed to promise a speedy and great fortune. Of all the French settlements, it is the most happily situated, with regard to the winds that prevail in those seas. Its harbours possess the inestimable advantage of affording a certain shelter from the hurricanes which annoy these latitudes. Its situation
having

having made it the seat of government, it has obtained ^{BOOK XIII.} most favours, and enjoyed the ablest and most upright administration of them all. The enemy has constantly respected the valour of its inhabitants, and has seldom attacked it without having cause to repent. Its domestic peace has never been disturbed, not even in 1717, when urged by a general discontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly, indeed, but prudently, to send back to France a Governor and an Intendant, who oppressed the people under their despotism and rapaciousness. The order, tranquility and harmony, which they found means to preserve in those times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their aversion from tyranny, than by their impatience of authority; and served in some measure to justify to the mother-country, a step, which in itself might be considered as irregular, and contrary to the established principles. Notwithstanding all these advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardness than the other French colonies, had made but little progress at the end of the last century. In 1700, they had but 6597 white men in all. The savages, mulattoes and free negroes, men, women and children, amounted to no more than 507. The number of slaves was but 14566. All these together, made a population of 21,640 persons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horses or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and had nine indigo houses, and one hundred and eighty-three small sugar plantations.

ON the cessation of the long and bloody wars, which ^{Prosperity of Martinico. Causes of it.} had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the seas of the world, and when France had relinquished her projects of conquest, and those principles of administration, by which she had been so long misled, Martinico emerged from that languid state in which all these

BOOK these calamities had kept her, and soon rose to a high
XIII. pitch of prosperity. She became the mart for all the
 windward national settlements. It was in her ports that
 the neighbouring islands sold their produce, and bought
 the commodities of the mother-country. The French
 navigators loaded and unloaded their ships no where else.
 Martinico was famous all over Europe. She was the
 object of speculation, as a planter, as an agent to the
 other colonies, as a trader with Spanish and North-
 America.

As a planter, she possessed in 1736, 447 sugar-works ;
 11,953,232 coffee trees ; 193,870 of cocoa ; 2,068,480
 of cotton ; 39,400 of tobacco ; 6,750 of arnotto. Her
 provision of food consisted of 4,806,142 banana trees ;
 34,483,000 trenches of cassava ; and 247 plots of po-
 tatoes and yams. She had a population of 72,000 blacks,
 men, women and children. Their labour had improved
 her plantations to the highest pitch that was consistent
 with the consumption then made in Europe of American
 productions, and she exported annually to the amount of
 sixteen millions of livres.(u)

THE connections of Martinico with the other islands
 intitled her to the profits of commission and the charges
 of transport, as she alone was in possession of carriages:
 This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce,
 and the sum total must amount to 17 or 18 millions of
 livres.(w) This standing debt, seldom called in, was
 left them for the improvement of their plantations. It
 was increased by advances in money, slaves, and other
 necessary articles. Martinico thus becoming more and
 more a creditor to the other islands, kept them in a con-
 stant dependence, but without injuring them. They all
 en-

(u) 700,000*l*.

(w) On an average about 765,600*l*.

enriched themselves by her assistance, and their profit was BOOK
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a benefit to her.

HER connections with Cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louisiana, procured her a market for her ordinary sugars, her inferior coffee, her molasses and rum, which would not sell in France. They gave her in exchange, salt-fish, dried vegetables, deals and some flour. In her clandestine trade on the coasts of Spanish America, consisting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, she was well paid for the risques which the French merchants did not chuse to run. This traffic, less important than the former as to its object, was much more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of ninety *per cent.* upon the value of four millions of livres, (*) yearly sent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

So many prosperous operations had brought immense sums into Martinico. Eighteen millions of livres (y) were constantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the balance has ever been such, as to make it a matter of indifference to them whether they dealt in minerals or commodities.

HER extensive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ships from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coast of Guinea, sixty from Canada, ten or twelve from the islands of Margaritta and Trinidad; besides the English and Dutch ships that slipped in to run goods. The private navigation from the island to the northern colonies, to the Spanish continent, and to the windward islands, employed a hundred and thirty vessels from twenty to seventy tons burthen, manned with six hundred European sailors of all nations,

(*) 175,000*l.*

(y) 787,500*l.*

BOOK nations, and fifteen hundred slaves long inured to the sea
XIII. service.

At first, the ships that frequented Martinico, used to land in those parts where the plantations lay. This practice, seemingly the most natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-easterly winds, which blow upon part of the coasts, keep the sea in a constant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a considerable distance from each other, or from most of the habitations. The sloops destined to coast along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to stand still, or to take in but half their lading. These crosses retarded the loading and unloading of the ship; and the consequence of these delays was, a waste of the crew, and an increase of expence to the buyer and seller.

COMMERCE, which must always reckon among its greatest advantages, that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the necessity the trader lay under, even in the best latitudes, of disposing of his cargo in small parcels. If some industrious man undertook to save him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the colonists. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he sells. The more he sells, the more he can afford to abate of the profit which another must make who sells less.

A worse inconvenience than either of these was, that some places were overstocked with some sorts of European goods, whilst others were in want of them. The owners of the ships were equally at a loss to take in a proper lading. Most places did not afford all sorts of commodities, nor every species of the same commodity. This deficiency obliged them to touch at several places, or
to

to carry away too much or too little of what was fit for BOOK
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the port where he was to unload.

THE ships themselves suffered many inconveniences. Several wanted careening, and most of them required some repair. The proper assistance on these occasions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not care to settle, for fear of not getting employment enough. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in some particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their sale. These short voyages backward and forward took up at least three or four months.

THESE and many more inconveniences made it very desirable to some of the inhabitants and to all the navigators to establish a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might send their respective matters of exchange. Nature seemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpose. Its harbour was one of the best in all the windward islands, and so famed for its safety, that when it was open to the Dutch vessels, they had orders from the republic to shelter there in June, July and August, from the hurricanes which are so frequent and so violent in those latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are distant but a league, and are the most fertile and richest of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes almost as far as their mouths in the sea. The protection of the fortifications secured the peaceable enjoyment of so many advantages, which, however, were balanced by a swampy and unwholesome soil. Besides, this capital of Martinico was the refuge of the men of war, which branch of the navy has always oppressed the merchant men. On this account, Fort Royal was

BOOK an improper place to become the center of business,
 XIII. which was therefore turned to St. Peter's.

THIS little town, which, notwithstanding the fires that have reduced it four times to ashes, still contains 1748 houses, is situated on the western coast of the island in a bay or inlet which is almost circular. One part of it is built on the strand along the sea-side; which is called the anchorage; and is the place for the ships and warehouses. The other part of the town stands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a small fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the seditions of the inhabitants against the tyranny of monopoly; but it now serves to protect the road from foreign enemies. These two parts of the town are separated by a rivulet or fordable river.

THE anchorage stands at the foot of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up as it were by this hill, which intercepts the easterly winds, the most constant and most salubrious in these parts; exposed, without one refreshing breeze, to the scorching beams of the sun, reflected from the hill, from the sea, and the black sand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholesome. Besides, there is no harbour, and the ships, which cannot winter safely upon this coast, are obliged to take shelter at Fort Royal. But these disadvantages are compensated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for loading and unloading of goods; and by its situation, which is such, that ships can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

THIS village was the first that was built, peopled, and cultivated on the island. It is, however, not so much on account of its antiquity as of its convenience, that it is become the center of communication between the colony and the mother country. At first, St. Peter's was the
 store-

storehouse for the commodities of some districts, which ^{B O O K} lay along such dreary and tempestuous coasts, that no ^{XIII.} ship could ever get at them, so that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elsewhere. The agents for these colonists in those early times, were no other than the masters of small vessels, who having made themselves known by continually sailing about the island, were enticed by the prospect of gain, to fix upon a settled place for their residence. Honesty was the only support of this intercourse: most of these agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a separate bag for each person whose business they transacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the sales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchases. When the bag was empty, the commission was at an end. This confidence, which must appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and dishonesty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are some persons still living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other security for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit resulting from it.

THESE plain men were successively replaced by more enlightened persons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the exclusive companies. Their number increased as the commodities multiplied; and they themselves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters, whose labours had till then gone on but slowly for want of such help. This conduct made them the necessary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the colonist who owed them nothing was in some measure dependent on them, as he might possibly hereafter stand in need of their assistance. Suppose his crop

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should

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should fail or be retarded, a plantation of sugar-canes be set on fire, or a mill blown down: if his buildings should fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his slaves; or that every thing should be destroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of supporting himself during these calamities, or of repairing the loss occasioned by them? These means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuses his assistance, the distress must necessarily increase. These considerations induced such as had not yet borrowed money, to trust the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to secure a resource in times of distress.

THE few rich inhabitants, whose fortunes seemed to place them above these wants, were in a manner compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they could conclude their business to the best advantage, without stirring out of their warehouses, or even out of their ships, forsook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were slow and uncertain. By this revolution the colonists being confined to their works, which require their constant presence and daily attendance, could no longer go out to dispose of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intrust it to able men, who being settled at the only frequented sea-port, were at hand to seize the most favourable opportunities for buying and selling; an inestimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadalupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the same motives.

THE war of 1744 put a stop to this prosperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itself. Its navy constantly exercised and accustomed to the exertions requisite for carrying on a contraband trade, was ready trained up for action,

tion. In less than six months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peter's, spread themselves about the latitudes of the Leeward islands. They signalised themselves in a manner worthy of the ancient free-booters. They were constantly returning in triumph and laden with an immense booty. Yet in the midst of these successes, an entire stop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spanish coast and to Canada, and they were constantly even disturbed on their own coasts. The few ships that came from France to make up their goods, the risques they ran, sold for very dear, and bought at a very low price. The produce being thus underrated, the lands were but poorly cultivated, the works neglected and slaves starved. Every thing was in a languid state, and falling to decay. The peace at last restored the freedom of trade, and with it, the hopes of recovering the ancient prosperity of the island. The event did not answer the pains that were taken to attain it.

NOT two years after the cessation of hostilities, the colony lost the contraband trade she carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owing to the vigilance of the guarda-costas. As it is more the interest of the traders to dare them, than theirs to defend themselves; the former are apt to despise men who are poorly paid to protect such rights, or enforce such prohibitions as are oftentimes unjust. The substituting register-ships to fleets was the cause that confined the attempts of the smugglers within very narrow limits. In the new system, the number of ships was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain; which occasioned a variation in the price of goods, unknown before. From that time the smuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixt and constant profit, would no longer pursue it when it did not secure an equivalent to the risques he ran.

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BUT this loss was not so sensibly felt by the colony, as the hardships brought upon them by the mother country. An unskilful administration clogged the reciprocal and necessary connection between the islands and North-America, with so many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico sent but four vessels to Canada. The direction of the colonies, now fallen into the hands of greedy and ignorant clerks, was soon degraded, sank into contempt, and was prostituted into venality.

BUT the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. Our countrymen found traders in the road of St. Peter's, who paid them well for their cargoes, and sent their ships home with expedition and richly laden; and they never inquired whether it was from this or the other colonies that the consumptions and produce arose. Even the negroes sent thither sold very well; but few remained there. The chief part were sent to the Grenades, to Guadalupe, and even to the Neutral islands, which, notwithstanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the slaves brought by the French, to those which the English offered, on seemingly better terms. They were convinced from long experience, that the choice negroes, who cost the most, enriched their lands, whilst the plantations did not thrive in the hands of the negroes bought at a lower price. But these profits of the mother country were foreign and rather hurtful to Martinico.

SHE had not yet repaired her losses during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a series of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greatest of all evils, broke out afresh. It was a series of misfortunes for France, which, after repeated strokes, and losses, made Martinico fall into the hands of the English. It was restored in July 1763, sixteen months after it had
been

been conquered ; but stript of all the necessary means of prof-
perity, that had raised it to so great a degree of prosperity. BOOK
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For some years past, the contraband trade carried on to the Spanish coasts was almost entirely lost. The cession of Canada had cut off all hopes of once more opening a communication, which had only been interrupted by transient errors. The productions of the Grenades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become British dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours ; and a new regulation of the mother country, which forbid her holding any intercourse with Guadalupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

THE colony thus stript, and left to itself, nevertheless contained, at the last survey, which was taken on the first of January, 1770, in the compass of twenty-eight parishes, 12,450 white people of all ages and of both sexes ; 1814 free blacks or mulattos ; 70,553 slaves ; and 443 fugitive negroes. The whole population of the island amounted to 84,817 souls. The number of births in 1766, was in the proportion of one in thirty amongst the white people, and of one in twenty-five amongst the blacks. From this observation, if it were constant, it should seem that the climate of America is much more favourable to the propagation of the Africans than of the Europeans ; since the former multiply still more in the labours and hardships of slavery, than the latter in the midst of plenty and freedom. The consequence must be, that in process of time the increase of blacks in America will surpass that of the white men ; and, perhaps, at last avenge this race of victims on the descendents of the oppressors.

THE cattle of the colony consists of 8283 horses or mules ; 12,376 head of horned cattle ; 975 hogs ; and 13,544 sheep or goats.

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THEIR provisions are, 17,930,596 trenches of cassava; 3,509,048 banana trees; and 406 squares and a half of yams and potatoes.

THEIR plantations contain 11,444 squares of land, planted with sugar; 6,638,757 coffee-trees; 871,043 cocoa-trees; 1,764,807 cotton plants; 59,966 trees of cassia, and sixty-one of arnotto.

HER meadows or savannahs, take up 10,072 squares of land; there are 11,966 in wood; and 8448 uncultivated or forsaken.

THE plantations which produce coffee, cotton, cocoa, and other things of less importance, are 1515 in number. There are but 286 for sugar. They employ 116 water-mills, twelve wind-mills, and 184 turned by oxen. Before the hurricane of the 13th of August, 1766, there were 302 small habitations, and fifteen sugar-works more.

IN 1769 France imported from Martinico, upon two hundred and two trading vessels, 177,116 quintals of fine sugar, and 12,579 quintals of raw sugar; 68,518 quintals of coffee; 11,731 quintals of cocoa; 6048 quintals of cotton; 2518 quintals of cassia; 783 casks of rum; 307 casks of syrup; 150 pounds of indigo; 2147 pounds of preserved fruits; forty-seven pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of rasped tobacco; 494 pounds of rope-yarn; 234 chests of liqueurs; 234 barrels of molasses; &c. &c. 451 quintals of wood for dying; and 12,108 hides in the hair. All these productions together have been bought in the colony itself, for 12,265,862 livres fourteen sols (x). It is true, that the colony has received from the mother country to the amount of 13,449,436 livres (a) of goods; but part of these have been sent away to the Spanish coasts, and another

(x) 536,631*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*(a) 588,411*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

another part has been conveyed to the English settle-
ments. BOOK
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ALL those who from instinct or duty wish well to the interest of their country, cannot see without regret that so excellent a colony as Martinico, should furnish so small a quantity of commodities, part of which even is brought from other places. It is well known, indeed, that the center of the island, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of sugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moisture would be hurtful to these productions; and that, should they succeed, the charges of carriage across mountains and precipices would absorb the profits of the crops. But in this large space, meadows would turn to very good account. The soil is excellent for pasture, and only wants the attention of government to furnish the inhabitants with the necessary increase of cattle, both for labour and food. There are other spots on the island, where the soil is ungrateful. Some are alternately spoilt by drought and rain, some are marshy, and almost always overflowed by the sea. There are others where nothing will grow, except those aquatic plants known by the general name of mangroves, but of various species, and very unlike each other. In other parts, the ground is so stony, that it cannot be improved by labour, or so much exhausted, that it is not worth manuring.

To these inconveniences, which arise from the nature of things, must be added a terrible plague it has experienced from the ants; a species of insects formerly unknown in America. Some time ago, they ravaged Barbadoes so dreadfully, that it was a matter of deliberation, whether that island formerly so flourishing, should not be evacuated. This calamity had greatly diminished there; when in 1763 it began to be felt at Martinico. The mischief these insects have done to several parts of the colony is inexpressible.

BOOK XIII. **XIII.** **fible.** All the useful vegetables have been destroyed; the quadrupeds have been unable to subsist there; the largest trees have been infested in such a manner that even the least delicate birds would not fix upon them. It was not without the greatest precautions that the children were preserved from being devoured; that the women could be supported till they lay in; or that the men could subsist. It was apprehended that this rumberless and devouring race would spread all over Martinico. Happily this formidable ravage has been stopped in its beginning, and seems very sensibly to be totally going off; but the lands infested with this poison, yield only to the cultivation of coffee, and will not produce sugar.

PREVIOUS to this evil, those observers who were best acquainted with the colony, were all of opinion, that its plantations were susceptible of improvement, and might be increased about one fourth part. Its present situation is far from encouraging such flattering hopes.

Whether
the state of
Martinico
can be im-
proved?

THE proprietors of the lands on the island may be divided into four classes. The first are possessed of a hundred large sugar plantations, in which twelve thousand negroes are employed. The second have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thousand blacks. The third possess thirty, with two thousand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and cassava, may employ twelve thousand negroes. The remaining slaves of both sexes are engaged in domestic services, in fishing, or in navigation.

THE first class consists entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the highest degree of perfection, and they can afford to keep it up in the flourishing state to which they have brought it. Even the expences they must be at for replacing deficiencies, are not so great as those of the less wealthy planter, as the slaves born upon these plantations,

tations, supply the place of those destroyed by time and labour. BOOK
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THE second class, which is that of planters in easy circumstances, have but half the hands that would be necessary to get a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they could even afford to buy the number of slaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing is so pernicious as putting a great number of fresh negroes at once upon a plantation. The sicknesses those miserable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind of labour which they are not accustomed to, and which they dislike, cannot but disgust a planter, from the constant and laborious attention he must pay to this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The most active proprietor is he who is able to increase his works by one sixth of the number of slaves every year. Thus the second class might acquire fifteen hundred slaves yearly, if the net produce of their lands would admit of it. But they must not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not seem disposed to trust them; and those who circulated their stock in the colony, no sooner saw it useless or in danger, but they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

THE third class, which is but one remove from indigence, cannot amend their situation by any means to be devised in the natural course of trade. It is much if they can subsist by themselves. The beneficent hand of government can alone impart life to them, and make them useful to the state, by lending them without interest the sums they may want, to raise their plantations. These might venture upon fresh negroes, without the inconveniences which belong to the second class, because
each

BOOK XIII. each planter having fewer slaves to look after, will be able to attend more closely to those he may purchase.

THE fourth class, who deal in articles of less consequence than sugars, do not stand in need of such powerful helps, to recover that ease and plenty from which they are fallen, by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could these two last classes but make an acquisition of fifteen hundred slaves every year, it would be sufficient to raise them to that degree of prosperity to which their industry naturally intitles them.

THUS Martinico might hope to revive her drooping plantations, and to recover the first splendor to which her diligence had raised her, if she could get a yearly accession of three thousand negroes. But it is well-known that she is not in a condition to pay for these recruits. She owes the mother-country, for balance of trade, about a million. (b) A series of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions (c) of the merchants settled in the town of St. Peter's. The engagements she has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and those she has contracted for the purchase of a number of plantations, have made her insolvent. This desperate situation will neither allow her the means of retrieving soon, nor the ambition of pursuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

Whether
Martinico
can be con-
quered.

ADD to this, that she stands exposed to invasion. But though there are a hundred places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would be to no purpose, because of the impossibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, across such a rugged country to Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would fail for such an attempt.

IN

(b) 43,750*l*.

(c) 175,000*l*.

IN the front of this strong place, is a famous harbour situated on the side of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which must decide the fate of any ship that is forced to avoid fighting. If she happens to be unrigged, or is a bad sailor, or meets with some accident from the variations of the squalls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, she will fall into the hands of an assailant that is a better sailor. The fortress itself may become an useless and inglorious spectator of the defeat of a whole squadron, as it has been a hundred times of the taking of merchant ships.

THE inside of the harbour is much injured on account of the hulks of several ships that have been sunk there, to keep out the English in the last war. These vessels have been taken up again : but it will still require a great deal of expence to remove the heaps of sand which are gathered about them, and to put matters in the same state they were before. This work will not admit of any delay ; for the port, though not very spacious, is the only one where ships of all rates can winter ; the only one where they will find masts, sails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the distance of a league by a very well-contrived canal, and which may be easily procured.

AN enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no preventing it, whatever precautions are taken. The war could not long be carried on against them in the field, and the people would soon be reduced to shut themselves up in their fortifications.

They formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immense sums had been ignorantly buried under a ridge of mountains. All the knowledge of the ablest engineers has never been sufficient to give any degree
of

BOOK of strength or solidity to works erected at random, by
XIII. the most unskillful hands, and without any sort of plan.

They have been obliged to content themselves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to such parts of the place as would admit of it. But the work of the most consequence has been to cut into the rock, which easily gives way, and to dig subterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholesome, and fit to keep warlike stores and provisions, as also to shelter the sick and to defend the soldiers, and such of the inhabitants whose attachment to their country would inspire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought that men who were sure of finding a safe retreat in these caverns after having exposed their lives on the ramparts, would soon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with fresh vigour. This was a good thought, and must have been suggested, if not by a patriotic government, at least by some sensible and humane minister.

BUT the bravery this must inspire, could not be sufficient to preserve a place which is commanded on all sides. It was therefore thought advisable to look out for some more advantageous situation, and this they found on the point called *Morne Garnier*, higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the highest tops of Patate, Tortenson, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal.

UPON this eminence a citadel has been raised, consisting of four bastions. The bastions in front, the covered way, the reservoirs for water, the powder magazines; all these means of defence are ready, and it cannot be long before the rest will be finished. Nothing will soon remain to be constructed but the cazerno, and other necessary buildings. If even the redoubts and the batteries intended, to force the enemy to make their
 de-

descent at a greater distance than Casco bay, where they landed at the last invasion, should not take the effect that is expected from them; yet still the colony would be able to resist about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the *Morne Garnier* for thirty or six and thirty days against an army of fifteen thousand; and twelve hundred men will sustain themselves for twenty or five and twenty days in Fort Royal, which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of seven or eight millions of livres. (d)

THOSE who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that so considerable an expence has been misapplied. Unable as we were, say they, to erect fortifications and to build ships at the same time, we ought to have preferred the indispensable to the secondary calls. Especially if the impetuosity in the character of the French disposes them to attack rather than to defend, we ought sooner to destroy than erect fortresses; or we should build none but ships those moveable ramparts, which carry war with them, instead of sitting still to wait for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the establishment of colonies, must have ships, which bring in men and wealth, and increase population and circulation, whereas bastions and soldiers are only fit to consume men and provisions. All that the court of Versailles can expect from the expence she has been at in Martinico, is, that if the island should be attacked by the only enemy she has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve her. The English proceed slowly in a siege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the safety of the assailants; for they esteem the life of a soldier of more

(d) About 328,000 on an average.

B O O K more consequence than the loss of time. This maxim, **XIII.** so sensible in itself, is perhaps misapplied in the destructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whose soldier is engaged in the service of the state, not a hireling paid by his prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to inquire into the present state of Guadalupe.

Calamities
experienced
by the
French
who first
settle at
Guadalupe.

THIS island, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is parted in two by a small arm of the sea, which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty fathom broad. This canal, known by the name of the salt river, is navigable, but will only carry vessels of fifty tons burthen.

THAT part of the island which gives its name to the whole colony, is, towards the center, full of craggy rocks, and so cold that nothing will grow there but fern, and some useless shrubs covered with moss. On the top of these rocks, a mountain called *la Soufriere*, or the Brimstone mountain, rises to an immense height into the middle region of the air. It exhales through various openings a thick black smoke, intermixed with sparks that are visible by night. From all these hills flow numberless springs, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate, by a refreshing stream, so celebrated, that the galleons which formerly used to touch at the windward islands, had orders to renew their provision with this pure and salubrious water. Such is that part of the island properly called Guadalupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been so much favoured by nature. It is indeed less rugged, but it wants springs and rivers. The soil is not so fertile, or the climate so wholesome or so pleasant.

No European nation had yet possessed this island, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, led on by two gentlemen

tlemen named Loline and Dupleffis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their provisions were so ill chosen, that they were spoilt in the passage; and they had shipped so few, that they were exhausted in two months. They were supplied with none from the mother-country. St. Christopher's, whether from scarcity or design, refused to spare them any; and their first attempts in husbandry they made in the country could not as yet afford any thing. No resource was left for the colony but from the savages; but the superfluities of a people, who cultivate but little, and therefore had never laid up any stores could not be very considerable. The new comers, not content with what the savages might bring of their own accord, came to a resolution to plunder them; and hostilities commenced on the 16th of January 1636.

THE Caribs, not thinking themselves in a condition openly to resist an enemy, who had so much the advantage from the superiority of their arms, destroyed their own provisions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring islands. From thence the most desperate came over to the island from which they had been driven, and concealed themselves in the thickest of the forests. In the day-time they shot with their poisoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were scattered about for hunting or fishing. In the night, they burned the houses and destroyed the plantations of their unjust spoilers.

A dreadful famine was the consequence of this kind of war. The colonists were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their subsistence. Many who had been slaves at Algiers,

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detested the hands that had broken their fetters ; and all of them cursed their existence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invasion, till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the savages at the end of the year 1640. When we consider the injustice of the hostilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almost tempted to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that pursue those inhuman oppressors. We are ready to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own hemisphere, change our connections, and contract beyond the seas with the savage Indians an alliance, which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compassion.

THE remembrance, however, of hardships endured in an invaded island, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate necessity, which afterwards induced an attention to those of luxury consumed in the mother-country. The few inhabitants who had escaped the calamities they had drawn upon themselves, were soon joined by some discontented colonists, from St. Christopher's, some Europeans fond of novelty, some sailors tired of navigation ; and by some sea captains, who prudently chose to commit to the care of a grateful soil the treasures they had saved from the dangers of the sea. But still the prosperity of Guadalupe was stopped or impeded by obstacles arising from its situation.

The colony of Guadalupe makes no great progress.

THE facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring islands could carry off their cattle, their slaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very ruinous situation. Intestine broils, arising from jealousies of authority, often disturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the windward islands, disdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture than for naval expeditions, were easily drawn to

Mar-

Martinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. BOOK
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 The protection of those intrepid pirates, brought to that island all the traders who flattered themselves that they might buy up the spoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might safely give themselves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Leeward islands into Martinico. From that time, the French ministry attended more seriously to this than to the other colonies, which were not so immediately under their direction; and hearing of nothing but this island, they turned all their encouragements that way.

It was owing to this preference, that in 1700, the whole population of Guadalupe was but 3,825 white people; 325 savages, free negroes, mulattoes; and 6,725 slaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 small plantations of sugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a great deal of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horses and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of sixty years labour. But her future progress was as rapid as her first attempts had been slow.

At the end of the year 1755, the colony was peopled with 9,643 whites, and 41,140 slaves of all ages and of both sexes. Her saleable commodities were the produce of 334 sugar plantations; 15 plots of indigo; 46,840 stems of cocoa; 11,700 of tobacco; 2,257,725 of coffee; 12,748,447 of cotton. For her provision she had 29 squares of rice or maize, and 1,219 of potatoes or yams; 2,028,520 banana trees; and 32,577,950 trenches of cassava. These details are the most essential parts of the history of America, so far as it concerns Europe. Cato the Censor would have recorded them; and Charlemagne

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would have read them eagerly. Who should be ashamed to attend to them? Let us then pursue these useful disquisitions. The cattle of Guadalupe consisted of 4,946 horses; 2,924 mules; 125 asses; 13,716 head of horned cattle; 11,162 sheep or goats; and 2,444 hogs. Such was the state of Guadalupe, when it was conquered by the English, in the month of April 1759.

FRANCE lamented this loss; but the colony had reason to comfort themselves for this disgrace. During a siege of three months, they had seen their plantations destroyed, the buildings that served to carry on their works burnt down, and some of their slaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all these devastations, the island was undone. Deprived of all assistance from the mother-country, which was in no condition to send her any succours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, because she had nothing to offer them in exchange, she could never have subsisted till the season of the ensuing harvest.

The English conquer Guadalupe, and raise the island to the greatest degree of prosperity.

THE conquerors delivered them from these apprehensions: The English, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who mostly reside in Europe, send their representatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the estate by the return of their ship. An agent, settled in some sea-port of Great-Britain, is intrusted with the furnishing the plantation, and receiving the produce. This was impracticable at Guadalupe; and the conquerors in this respect were obliged to adopt the custom of the conquered. The English, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, hastened in imitation of them, to send their ships to the conquered island, and so multiplied their expeditions, that they

over-

overstocked the market, and sank the price of all Euro-BOOK
 pean goods. The colonist bought them at a very low price, XIII.
 and in consequence of this glut, obtained long delays for
 the payment.

To this credit which was necessary was soon added another arising from speculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements. A great number of negroes were carried thither, to hasten the growth and enhance the value of the plantations. It has been said in a hundred memoirs, copied from each other, that the English had stocked Guadalupe with 30,000, during the four years and three months that they remained masters of the island. The registers of the custom houses which may be depended on, as they could have no inducement to impose upon us, attest that the number was no more than 18,721. This was sufficient to give the nation well-grounded hopes of reaping great advantages from their new conquest. But their ambition was frustrated, and the colony with its dependencies was restored to its former possessors in July 1763.

By the dependencies of Guadalupe, must be understood several small islands, which being included in the district of her jurisdiction, fell with her into the hands of the English. Such is the Deseada, which seems to have been detached from Guadalupe by the sea, and is only separated by a small canal. It is a kind of rock, where nothing will grow but cotton. We are not certain at what time it was first inhabited, but this little settlement is certainly not of a long standing.

THE Saintes, three leagues distant from Guadalupe, are two very small islands, which, with another yet smaller, make a triangle, and a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were sent thither in 1648, but were soon driven away by an excessive drought, which dried up their only

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spring, before they had time to make any reservoirs. A second attempt was made in 1652, and lasting plantations begun, which now yield fifty thousand weight of coffee and ninety thousand of cotton.

THIS is but little, but it is more than the produce of St. Bartholomew, which was peopled with fifty Frenchmen in 1648. They were all murdered in 1656 by a troop of Caribs from St. Vincent and Dominica, and were replaced but a long while after. In 1753, the colonists were no more than 170 in number, and their whole fortune consisted in 54 slaves, and 64,000 cocoa trees. Since the last peace, the population of the white people has increased to 400, and that of the blacks to 500. The plantations have increased in the same proportions. The soil of this small island is very hilly, and excessively barren; but it has the convenience of a good harbour. The wretchedness of the inhabitants is so well known, that the English privateers which frequently put in there during the late wars, have always paid punctually for what few refreshments they could spare them, though the miserable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then some humanity left even in the breast of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes so from fear or interest. The armed pirate, who plunders a vessel richly laden, is not destitute of equity, nor even of compassion, for a set of poor defenceless islanders.

MARIGALANTE was wrested from her natural inhabitants, in 1648. The French, who had forcibly taken possession of it, were long annoyed by the savages of the neighbouring islands, but at last are left peaceable possessors of a land they have cultivated, after they had unpeopled it. This island is not large, but fruitful; it

cul-

cultivates twenty-one sugar plantations, 7,000 cocoa ^{BOOK} trees, 562,700 stems of coffee, and 4,621,700 of cotton. ^{XIII.}
 If these frequent computations are tiresome to an indolent reader, who does not like to take account of his income, lest he should find he must set bounds to his expences, it is to be hoped they will be less so to political calculators, who find the exact measure of the strength of a state in the population and produce of lands, and are by these means the better enabled to compare the natural resources of the several nations. It is but by an exact register of this kind, that we can judge of the present state of the maritime and trading powers that have settlements in America. In this case, accuracy constitutes the whole merit of the work, and the reader must excuse inelegance in favour of real utility. The public is already sufficiently amused and imposed upon by eloquent and ingenious descriptions of distant countries; it is now time to investigate truth, to compare the several histories of these countries, and to find out what they now are, rather than what they formerly were. For the history of what is past is of little more consequence to the present age, than the history of what is to come. Let us then again observe that no one should think it strange, that we so often repeat the numeration of people and cattle, of lands and their produce; in a word, that we should so frequently enter into disquisitions which may appear dry, but are in fact the natural foundations of society. Why then should we be disgusted at seeing these things in a work which shews us our riches? Let us, therefore, resume the subject, and compute the wealth of Guadalupe.

By the survey taken in 1767, this island, including the lesser settlements above-mentioned, contains 11,863 white people of all ages, and of both sexes; 752 free blacks

BOOK blacks and mulattoes; 72,761 slaves; which makes in
 XIII. all a population of 85,376 souls.

THE cattle consists of 5,060 horses; 4,854 mules; 111 asses; 17,378 head of horned cattle; 14,895 sheep or goats; and 2,669 hogs. The provision is 30,476,218 trenches of cassava; 2,819,262 banana trees; 2,118 squares of land planted with yams and potatoes.

THE plantations contain 72 arnotto trees; 327 of cassia; 13,292 of cocoa; 5,881,176 of coffee; 12,156,769 of cotton; 21,474 squares of land planted with sugar-canes. The woods occupy 22,097 squares of land. There are 20,247 in meadows; and 6,405 are uncultivated or forsaken. Only 1582 plantations grow cotton, coffee, and provisions of eatables. Sugar is made but in 401. These sugar-works employ 140 water-mills, 263 turned by oxen, and 11 windmills.

THE produce of Guadalupe, including what is poured in from the small islands under her dominion, ought to be very considerable. But in 1768, it yielded to the mother-country no more than 140,418 quintals of fine sugars; 23,603 quintals of raw sugars; 34,205 quintals of coffee; 11,955 quintals of cotton; 456 quintals of cocoa; 1,884 quintals of ginger; 2,529 quintals of logwood; 24 chests of sweetmeats; 165 chests of liqueurs; 34 casks of rum; and 1,202 undressed skins. All these commodities were sold in the colony only for 7,103,838 livres,^(e) and the merchandize they have received from France has cost them but 4,523,884 livres.^(f) It is easy to judge from hence how great a part of the produce has been fraudulently exported, since it is known that the crops of Guadalupe are more plentiful than those of Martinico.

THE

(e) 310,792*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

(f) 197,919*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

THE reasons for this superiority are obvious. Guadalupe employs a greater number of slaves upon the plantations than Martinico, which being at once a trading and a planting island, engages many of her negroes in the towns and among the shipping. There are fewer children in Guadalupe, because the fresh negroes brought to the new-erected works, are all adults, or at least able to work, and the black women seldom breed till the second year after their arrival in America. This may be owing to the change of climate and food affecting their constitutions, or, possibly, to a kind of reserve which they are more susceptible of than they are generally thought to be. Lastly, a great many of those blacks have been placed upon fresh lands; and ground newly cleared always yields more than that which is exhausted by long tillage.

BUT if we may trust to some observers, the colony must expect that her plantations will decrease. They maintain that part of the island properly called Guadalupe had long since attained the utmost pitch of increase, and the Grande Terre, almost all of which is newly cleared, affords three fifths of the produce of the whole settlement. It is impossible that this part of the island can keep up to that flourishing state, to which a lucky chance has brought it. The land is naturally barren, already exhausted by forced culture, and the more exposed to the droughts, so common in this climate, as there is hardly a tree left. Besides the cultivation of them is attended with difficulty and cost, and the crops can only be kept up, by a daily increase of labour and expence, and by constantly returning into the ground, the net produce of each harvest.

YET many are of opinion that Guadalupe may augment her income by one fifth, and that the time of this increase is near at hand. The colony has no considerable debts.

With

BOOK Having fewer wants than the richer islands, where afflu-
XIII. ence has long since created new desires and a new taste, the inhabitants can spare the more for the improvement of their lands. Their situation, in the midst of the English and Dutch settlements, gives them an opportunity of running a fourth part of their sugars and cottons, at a higher price than they would sell for to the French captains, to purchase slaves and other articles in exchange at a cheaper rate. From these concurring circumstances, it is not unlikely that Guadalupe will soon rise of herself to the greatest prosperity, without the assistance, and in spite of the clogs, government has imposed upon it.

Changes made in the administration of Guadalupe since it has been restored to the dominion of France.

THE flourishing state to which Guadalupe had been raised by the English, when they restored it at the peace excited a general surprise. It was beheld by the mother-country, with that kind of consideration and respect which opulence inspires. Hitherto, this, as all the other windward islands, had been subordinate to Martinico. It was rescued from this dependence, by appointing a governor and an intendant, to preside over it. These new administrators, desirous of signaling their arrival by some innovation, instead of letting the commodities of this island return into the old track, laid a plan for conveying them directly to Europe. This scheme was by no means disagreeable to the inhabitants, who owed Martinico two millions, which they were in no haste to pay; and it was contrived that the ministry at home should adopt it. From that time, all intercourse was strictly prohibited, between the two colonies, which became as great strangers to each other, as if they had belonged to rival, or even to hostile powers.

THE immediate connections of Guadalupe with France, had been hitherto confined to six or seven ships every year. This number was increased, but not sufficiently to ease the
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the colony of the whole of her produce. This scheme **BOOK XIII.** was carried into execution with too much haste. It should have been done very gradually and with much caution; for, certainly, most innovations in politics require to be introduced and conducted with moderation. The harbours of Guadalupe are but bad, the coasting trade difficult, and the goods frequently damaged in loading and unloading. These and other reasons had deterred the merchants of the mother-country from opening a direct trade with the colony, notwithstanding the inconveniences and charges attending an indirect one. There was a degree of prejudice in this; but many precautions were necessary to induce them to get rid of it. It was necessary to entice European ships to come to the colony by some privileges, and indulgencies, which might balance the disadvantages that kept them away. With this kind of management the intended revolution would have been brought about gradually and insensibly. In short, the French ships should have been encouraged, in order to keep off those of Martinico, not those of Martinico driven away, to bring in the French ships, which might possibly never arrive.

SUCH was the commercial interest, singly considered; but, perhaps, it might come in competition with political interests of much greater importance. This is what we shall now examine.

FRANCE has been hitherto unable effectually to protect her own colonies, or to annoy those of her most formidable rival. This double advantage can only be procured by a navy equal to that of a power, which openly declares itself our natural enemy. Till that period arrives, which, from our present situation, seems to be more and more remote, it concerns us, at least, to put our colonies in a condition to provide for themselves in case of a war.

This

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This they were able to do, when Martinico was the center of all the windward settlements. From this island, full of traders and seamen, and the most happily situated of all the French islands, with regard to the winds that blow in these latitudes, were sent out constant supplies of men, arms and provisions, which reached the other colonies in twenty-four hours, with a moral certainty of not being intercepted, notwithstanding the multiplicity and strength of the squadrons destined to cut off this communication.

Nor was this all. Swarms of privateers, sent out from Martinico, made it impossible for the British trade to proceed without a convoy; and as the convoys could not be had in a constant succession, so as to bring a regular supply to a climate where provisions will not keep long, the English islands were often reduced to great scarcity. The provinces of North-America endeavoured, it is true, to make up this deficiency; but the cargoes sold so cheap, that they could not afford a convoy; so that the French privateers were sure to carry off two fifths of their trade with the southern colonies. And, indeed, all the vigilance and skill of the English could not prevent the Martinico privateers, during the last war, from taking fourteen hundred vessels.

ALL the advantages of Martinico, in which Guadalupe had its share, and which greatly contributed to the victualling of both islands, and to distress the enemy's settlements, will be all lost by the separation made between the colonies by the mother-country. We shall no longer see there any merchants, nor seamen, nor stationed ships; and if a war should break out, there will be no fitting out the smallest armament in those parts. It is the business of the court of Versailles to judge whether

ther the direct navigation from the ports of France to Guadalupe can make amends for so great a sacrifice.

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BUT can France be assured of enjoying a long and quiet possession of this island? If the enemy that might attack the colony, chose only the Grande Terre, and carry off the slaves and cattle from thence, it would be impossible to hinder them, or even to make them suffer for it, unless an army was opposed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the settlement is but a wretched star fort, incapable of much resistance. All that could possibly be expected, would be to prevent the devastation from extending any further. The nature of the country presents several more or less fortunate positions, in which the progress of an assailer may be stopped with security, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to reembark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadalupe.

Measures
taken by
France for
the defence
of Guada-
lupe.

THE landing of the enemy could be effected no where but at the bay of the Three Rivers, and at that of the Bailiff; or rather these two places would be most favourable to the success of his enterprize; because they would bring them nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Basse-terre, where they would have less difficulties to encounter.

LET the enemy chuse which ever of these landings they please, they will find nothing more than a spot covered with trees, intersected with rivers, hollow ways, narrow passes, and steep ascents, which they must march over exposed to the French fire. When, by the superiority of their forces, they have surmounted these difficulties, they will be stopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform surrounded by nature, with the river Gallcon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art has added parapets, barbettes, flanks and embrasures, to direct the

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artillery in the best manner. This intrenchment, tho' formidable, must be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave such a post as this behind him: his convoys would be too much exposed, and he could not get up what would be necessary for carrying on the siege of fort St. Charles, without much difficulty.

If those who were first employed in fortifying Guadalupe, had understood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chusing the position between the river Cense and the river Galleon, for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the sea-side a front, which would have inclosed a harbour capable of containing forty sail of ships, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themselves in the least exposed. The fronts towards the rivers Galleon and Cense, would have been inaccessible, being placed upon the summit of two very steep ascents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack, and it would have been an easy matter to strengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chusing the present position of fort St. Charles, the works, which were constructed right, ought at least to have flanked each other, from the sea and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were so much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revetements might be battered from the bottom.

SUCH was the condition of fort St. Charles, when in 1764 they began to think of putting it in a state of defence. Perhaps, it might have been best to destroy it totally, and to place the fortifications on the position just pointed

pointed out. They contented themselves, however, with B.O.O.K. covering the bad fort constructed by unskillful persons, XIII. with out-works; adding two bastions towards the sea-side; a good covered way, which goes all round with the glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle slope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind these good tenailles, with caponieres and posterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment, made on the top of the bank of the other side of the same river; large and deep ditches, a reservoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a sufficient quantity of works underground to lodge a third part of the garrison. All these outworks well contrived being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a siege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the resistance that Guadalupe can oppose to the attacks of the enemy, it is time to pass on to St. Domingo.

This island is sixty leagues in length; its main breadth Settlement is about thirty; and its circumference three hundred and of the French at fifty, or six hundred in coasting round the several bays. St. Domin- go. It is parted lengthways, from east to west, by a ridge of mountains, covered with woods, which rising gradually exhibit the finest prospect imaginable. Several of these mountains were formerly full of mines, and, perhaps, are so still; others are fit for culture. Almost all of them form delicious and temperate vallies; but in the plains, where the soil is very fertile, the air is so scorching hot as to be almost intolerable, especially in those places by the

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the sea side where the coast runs narrow, between the water and the back of the mountains, and is exposed to a double reflection of the sun, both from the rocks and the waves.

SPAIN was the sole proprietor of this large possession, when some English and French, who had been driven out of St. Christopher's took refuge there in 1630. Though the southern coast, where they first settled, was in a manner forsaken, they considered that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to secure a retreat. For this purpose they pitched upon Tortuga, a small island within two leagues of the great one; and twenty-five Spaniards who were left to guard it, retired on the first summons.

THE adventurers of both nations, now absolute masters of an island eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river and few springs. The mountains were covered with choice woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coast appeared to be inaccessible, but the southern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the island.

THIS happy situation soon brought to Tortuga a multitude of those people who are in search either of fortune or liberty. The most moderate applied themselves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, whilst the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and sold their hides to the Dutch. The most intrepid went out to cruize, and performed such daring feats as will be long remembered.

THIS settlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging by the losses they had already sustained, of the misfortunes they had still to expect, they gave orders for the

the destruction of the new colony. The general of the BOOK
XIII. galleons chose, for executing his commission, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at sea or a hunting, and with that barbarity which was then so familiar to his nation, carried off or put to the sword all those who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garrison, fully persuaded that such a precaution was needless, after the vengeance he had taken. But he soon found that cruelty is not the way to secure dominion.

THE adventurers, informed of what had been doing at Tortuga, and hearing at the same time that a body of five hundred men, destined to harass them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to escape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They therefore gave up personal independence to social safety, and made choice of one Willes to be at their head; an Englishman who had distinguished himself on many occasions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an island which they had possessed for eight years, and fortified it that they might not lose it again.

THE French soon felt the effects of national partiality. Willes having sent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give laws, treated the rest as subjects. Such is the natural progress of dominion; in this manner most monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have chosen a leader, who soon usurps the authority of a master. At first he shares the power or the spoils with the strongest, till the multitude, crushed by the few, embolden the chief to assume the whole power to himself, and then monarchy degenerates into despotism. But such a series of revolutions can only take place in ma-

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ny years in great states. An island of sixteen leagues square is of too much consequence to be peopled with slaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the Windward islands, being informed of the tyranny of Willes, immediately sent forty Frenchmen from St. Christopher's, who collected fifty more on the coast of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga, and having joined their countrymen on the island, they altogether summoned the English to withdraw. The English, disconcerted at such an unexpected and vigorous act, and not doubting but so much haughtiness was supported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the island, never more to return.

THE Spaniards were not so tractable. They suffered so much from the depredations of the pirates which were daily sent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their interest, were alike concerned in getting that island once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At last it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, and they kept it till they were so firmly established at St. Domingo, as to disregard so small a settlement.

THEIR progress, however, was but slow, and they first drew the attention of the mother country in 1665. Huntsmen, indeed, and pirates were continually seen hovering about from one island to another, but the number of planters, who are properly the only colonists did not exceed four hundred. The government was sensible how necessary it was to multiply them; and the care of this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand Dogeron.

Measures
taken by
the French
to render
this colony
advanta-
geous.

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himself, independent of the smiles or frowns of fortune, had served fifteen years in the marines, when he went

over

over to America in 1756. With the best contrived plans, BOOK
XIII. he failed in his first attempts; but the fortitude he shewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conspicuous, and the expedients he found out to extricate himself, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The esteem and attachment he had inspired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intrust him with the care of directing, or rather of settling that colony.

THE execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was necessary to subdue a lawless crew, who till then had lived in a state of the most absolute dependence; to reconcile to labour a troop of plunderers, who delighted in nothing but rapine and idleness; to prevail upon men accustomed to trade freely with all nations, to submit to the privileges of an exclusive company formed in 1664 for all the French settlements. When this was effected, it then became necessary to allure new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate, and which was not yet known to be so fertile as it really was.

DOGERRON, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he should succeed. A long intercourse with men he was to govern, had taught him how they were to be dealt with, and his sagacity could suggest, or his honest soul adopt no method of alluring them, but what was noble and just. The free-booters were determined to go in search of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them, by relinquishing to them that share of the booty which his post entitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal, commissions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only way to make these men friends to their country, who otherwise would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of

BOOK plunder. The buccaneers, or hunters, who only wished
XIII. to raise a sufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready
 to advance them money without interest, or to procure
 them some by his credit. As for the planters, whom he
 preferred to all the other colonists, he gave them every
 possible encouragement within the reach of his industrious
 activity.

THESE happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wisely considered, that women could alone cement the happiness of the men and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. There was not one female on the new settlement. He therefore sent for some. Fifty came over from France, and were soon disposed of to the best bidders. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on still higher terms. This was the only way to gratify the most impetuous of all passions, without quarrels or bloodshed. All the inhabitants expected to see help mates come from their own country, to soften and to share their fate. But they were disappointed. No more were sent over, except women of no character, who used to engage themselves for three years in the service of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuse of the mother-country, introduced such a profligacy of manners, that it became necessary to put a stop to so dangerous an expedient, but without substituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo lost a great many honest men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increase of population, which might have proceeded from the colonists, who still preserved their attachment to the island. The colony has long felt, and, perhaps, feels to this day, the effects of so capital a fault.

NOTWITHSTANDING this error, Dogeron found means to increase the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred at his first

first coming. His successes were daily increasing, when ^{BOOK} they were stopped at once in 1670, by an insurrection, ^{XIII.} which put the whole colony in a ferment. He did not experience the least censure for an unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had not the least share.

WHEN this upright man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his jurisdiction should be open to foreigners. Yet such was the ascendent he gained over their minds, that by degrees he established in the colony the exclusive privilege of the company, which in time engrossed the whole trade. But this company became so elated with prosperity, as to be guilty of the injustice of selling their goods for two-thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So destructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants: They took up arms, and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ships should be free to trade with them, paying five *per cent.* to the company at coming in and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himself of that circumstance to procure two ships, seemingly destined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his colonists than his own. Every one shipped his own commodities on board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the vessel, the generous governor caused the cargo to be exposed to public view, and every one helped himself to what he wanted, not only at prime cost, but upon trust, without interest, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he should inspire them with sentiments of probity and greatness of soul, by taking no other security than their own bare word. He was cut off by death in the midst

BOOK of these parental offices, in 1673, leaving no other inheritance than an example of patriotism, and of every humane and social virtue.

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His nephew Pouancey succeeded rather to the duties than to the honours of his place. With the same qualifications as Dogeron, he was not so great a man, because he followed his steps more from imitation than from natural disposition. Yet the undiscerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both, and both had the honour and happiness to establish the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without soldiers. Their natural good sense, and their known integrity, determined all differences to the satisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is naturally attendant upon personal merit.

So wise a constitution could not be lasting; it required too much virtue to make it so. In 1684 there was so visible an alteration, that in order to establish a due subordination at St. Domingo, two administrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great measure settled. These legislators appointed courts of judicature in the several districts, accountable to a superior council at Little Goyave. In process of time this jurisdiction growing too extensive, a like tribunal was erected in 1702 at Cape St. Francis for the northern districts.

ALL these innovations could hardly be introduced without some opposition. It was to be feared that the hunters and pirates, who composed the bulk of the people, averse from the restraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the prospect of great advantages. The planters themselves were under some temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with so many restrictions, that they

were

were forced to sell their commodities at a very low price. BOOK
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The former were won by persuasions, the latter by the prospect of a change in their situation, which was truly desperate.

SKINS had been the first article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by the culture of lands, and it was sold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was soon confined by an exclusive company, which indeed was in a short time abolished, but with no advantage for the sale of tobacco, since that was farmed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with some favour from government, as a reward for their submission, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they should send into the kingdom, free of all charge even of freight, upon condition they should have the free disposal of the other three-fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty sols (*g*) *per cent.* which were paid by the farmer. Private interests opposed so reasonable a proposal. This unkind treatment exasperated the colonists, and luckily for them, they applied themselves wholly to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cotton was a very promising article, because it had greatly enriched the Spaniards in former times; but they soon gave it up, for what reason is not known, and in a few years not a single shrub of cotton was to be seen.

TILL then the labours had all been performed by hirelings, and by the poorest of the inhabitants. Some successful expeditions against the Spaniards, procured them a few negroes. The number was increased by two or three French ships, and much more by prizes taken from the English during the war of 1688, by an invasion of

B b 4

Jamaica,

(*g*) *is. 3d.*

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Jamaica, from whence our people brought away three thousand blacks in 1694. Without slaves, the culture of sugar could not be undertaken; but they alone were not sufficient. Money was wanting to erect buildings, and to purchase utensils. The profit some inhabitants made with the free-booters, who were always successful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ the slaves. They therefore undertook the planting of those canes, which convey the gold of Mexico to nations whose only mines are fruitful lands.

BUT the colony, which though it had lost some of its Europeans, had still made a progress to the north and west, amidst the devastations that preceded the peace of Rixwick, was yet in no forwardness to the south. This part, which includes fifty leagues of sea-coast, had not a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient to make some advantage of so extensive and so fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the space of thirty years, the property of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*. This company, in imitation of Jamaica and Curaçao, was to open a contraband trade with the Spanish continent, and to clear the vast tract of land included in the grant. This last object, as it was the most important, was soon the only one that was attended to.

To advance the improvement of agriculture, the company freely granted lands to all who applied for them. Each person, according to his wants and abilities, obtained slaves they were to pay for in three years, the men at the rate of six hundred livres (*b*), and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres (*i*). The same credit was given for goods, though they were to be delivered

at

(*b*) 26*l.* 5*s.*(*i*) 19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

the market price. The company engaged to buy up all the produce of the lands at the same rate as those commodities were sold for in the other parts of the island. The society, which made so many concessions, had no other amends for them but the exclusive right of buying and selling through the whole territory assigned to them. Even this dependence, oppressive to the colonist, was still softened by allowing him to take where he pleased, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his provisions whatever he might have occasion to buy.

THE monopolizer, as a torrent that is lost in the abyss itself has made, works his own ruin by his rapaciousness, by draining the country where he exercises his tyranny. This mismanagement of the oppressor, the dejection of the oppressed, both concur to damp industry and trade in states subjected to exclusive privileges. The company of St. Louis affords an instance among many, of the ill effects of such private combinations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of its agents, nor was the territory committed to its care, the better for all these losses. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owing to the interlopers.

It was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spanish succession, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a speedy progress, when tranquility was restored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. These fair prospects were blasted by one of those calamities which it is not in the power of man to foresee. All the cocoa-trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dageron had planted the first in 1665. In Misfortunes that process of time they had increased, especially in the narrow valleys to the westward. There were no less than the colony.

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twenty thousand upon some plantations; so that though cocoa sold but five sols (*h*) a pound, it was become a plentiful source of wealth.

CULTIVATIONS of greater importance amply compensated this loss, when the colony was threatened with a total subversion. A considerable number of inhabitants, who had devoted twenty or thirty years labour, in a burning climate, to lay up a sufficiency to spend a comfortable old age in their native country, were gone over to France, with a sufficient fortune to enable them to pay off their debts and purchase estates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which turned out to be of no use to them. This heavy stroke obliged them to return poor into an island from whence they had departed rich, and reduced them in their old age, to solicit places, as stewards to the very people who had formerly been their servants. The sight of so many unfortunate persons, inspired a general detestation, both of Law's scheme, and of the India company, which was considered as accountable for this ill-concerted project of finance. This aversion, raised by mere compassion, was soon strengthened by very considerable personal interests.

IN 1722 agents came from the India company, which had obtained an exclusive grant of the negro trade, on condition that they should furnish two thousand negroes yearly. This was evidently a double misfortune for the colony, who could not expect to get above one-fifth of the slaves they wanted, and foresaw that those would be sold at an extravagant price. Their discontent broke out into acts of the greatest violence. Some commissaries, who by their insolent behaviour, had greatly heightened the dread naturally conceived of all monopoly, were forced to re-pass the seas. The buildings where they transacted their business

(*h*) Two-pence halfpenny.

business were burnt to the ground. The ships that came to them from Africa, were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not suffered to dispose of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppose these disturbances, saw his authority despised, and his orders disobeyed as they were not enforced by any compulsive power. He was even put under arrest. All parts of the island rang with the cries of sedition, and the clashing of arms. It is hard to say how far these excesses would have been carried, had not government been so prudent as to yield. This extreme confusion lasted two years. At length, the inconveniences resulting from anarchy, disposed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquility was restored without having recourse to desperate means.

FROM that period, no colony ever made such a good use of time as that of St. Domingo. They advanced with the utmost rapidity to a prosperous state. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed her seas, have only served to compress her strength, which has increased the more since the cessation of hostilities. A wound is soon healed when the constitution is sound. Diseases themselves are a kind of remedies, which by the expulsion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robust habit of body. They restore the equilibrium of the whole frame, and impart to it a more regular and uniform motion. So war seems to strengthen and support national spirit in many states of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the prosperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immense losses which almost equally attend victory and defeat, awaken industry and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former splendor, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their steps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing is requisite for its prosperity

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prosperity but to give a free course to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they succeed in giving her powers their full scope. St. Domingo affords a striking instance of what may be expected from a good soil and an advantageous situation, in the hands of Frenchmen.

Present
state of this
colony.

THIS colony has 180 leagues of sea-coast, lying to the north, the west, and the south. The southern part extends from cape Tiburon, to the point of Beata Cape, which takes in about fifty leagues of coast, more or less confined by the mountains. The Spaniards had built two large towns in that part, at the time of their prosperity, but forsook them in their decline. The vacant towns were not immediately occupied by the French, who might not think themselves in safety so near the town of St. Domingo, where was centered the chief force of the nation upon whose ruins they were rising. Their corsairs, who commonly assembled at the little island called Vache Island, to cruize upon the Castilians, and divide their spoils, emboldened them to begin a settlement on the neighbouring coast in 1673. It was soon destroyed, and was not resumed till a good while after. The company appointed to settle and extend this colony might be of some service to it, but the progress it made was chiefly owing to the English of Jamaica, and the Dutch of Curaçao, who having resolved to carry almost all their slaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land which they themselves contributed to improve. Our merchants at home have at length opened their eyes, and since the year 1740, they frequent that part which is the most distant of the colony, though the sailing out of this road is sometimes very tedious and difficult, on account of the winds.

THE settlement that lies to windward of the rest is ^{BOOK} called Jaquemel. Though of a pretty long standing, it ^{XIII.} contains but forty-two houses. The soil of this and the neighbouring settlements is so hemmed in by the mountains, that no great opulence is to be expected from it; but in another light, it merits the attention of government. It lies very conveniently for the reception of any troops or warlike stores, which the mother-country might choose to convey to the colony, in time of war, and which would run great risques in taking the north side, that being the natural and constant station of the enemy's squadrons. Jaquemel may also be of great service in another light. The little Dutch island of Curaçao, affords in times of hostilities an inexhaustible store of provisions. Their privateers being strong and bold enough to beat the little corsairs of Jamaica, the only English vessels that have hitherto obstructed their operations, have poured an immense stock of provisions into the port of Jaquemel, during the late troubles. They will continue this supply as long as we please, provided we will but secure their landing by proper batteries, or by the protection of a frigate or two. This place will supply the western side of St. Domingo, by a road of eight leagues only, which leads to Leogane and Port-au-Prince, and the southern side by small boats that can easily range the coast.

WHILST Jaquemel is the storehouse, St. Lewis is the defence of the island. This town, built in the beginning of the century, lies at the bottom of a bay, which makes a tolerable harbour. It contains but forty houses, and seemed to be doomed to lasting wretchedness, having naturally no water to drink. Some Jews, who live without the gates of St. Lewis, at length undertook to form an aqueduct, which they engaged to construct at their own expence. This place is the seat of government, and

re-

BOOK receives the few men of war which appear in these latitudes. **XIII.** This is the only advantage it has, and it is by this it is able to protect the trade and wealth of the Cayes, which lies ten leagues lower.

THIS town seems to have been, as it were, thrown at random in the bottom of a shallow bay, which grows more and more so, and has but three channels. The anchorage is so confined and so dangerous during the equinox, that ships which happen to be there at those seasons, are frequently lost. The great quantity of mud brought thither by a torrent, called the south river, has increased to such a degree, that in thirty years time there will be no getting in. The canal formed by the vicinity of Vache Island is of no use but to obstruct navigation. The creeks in this place are the resort of the corsairs of Jamaica. As they cruize there without sails, and can observe without being seen, they always have the advantage of the wind over such vessels as are hindered by the violence and constant course of the winds from passing above the island. If any men of war should be forced to put into this bad harbour, the impossibility of surmounting this obstacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of the island, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ships. Doubling, therefore, the point of Labacou, one after another, on account of the shoals, these ships would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the disadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be destroyed by an inferior squadron.

THE town of Cayes is worthy of the harbour. It contains 280 houses, all sunk into swampy ground, and most of them surrounded with stagnant water. The air of this spot is foul and unwholesome, and on this account, as well as the badness of the harbour, it has often been wished that the trade with the mother-country could

could be transferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that ^{BOOK} have been made to bring this about have hitherto been ^{XIII.} unsuccessful, and will for ever be so for very evident reasons.

THE town of Cayes is surrounded with a plain nearly six leagues long, and four and a half broad. The ground which is very even, extremely fruitful and in every part fit for the culture of sugar, is well watered in many places, and may be so every where. Nothing is left to make it rival the plain of the cape, but an equal number of slaves. These are daily increasing, and will soon multiply to such a number as to make the most of this fertile spot. So many advantages are an inducement to persons who cross the seas merely in hopes of making a speedy fortune, to go directly to Cayes.

To pretend to thwart this partiality would be to retard the progress of a good settlement, to no manner of purpose. Even the caprices of industry should be indulged by government. The least uneasiness in the trader creates distrust. Political and military reasonings will never prevail against those of interest. The colonies are influenced by no other rule. Wherever there is most money, there they direct their steps, and there they fix. Trade is a plant that only thrives in a soil of its own choosing. It starts at every kind of restraint. Forbidding the trade of Cayes, would be just as absurd a piece of tyranny, as ordering the dealers at a fair to quit their stalls.

ALL that the French ministry could reasonably propose, would be to fortify, and in some measure to cleanse this place. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbish would serve to fill up the marshes within. The ground being raised higher by this contrivance, would of course grow drier; the water,

which

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which would be brought down from the river into this deep ditch; would, with the help of some fortifications, secure the towns from the attacks of the corsairs; and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a Squadron.

We may and ought to go further still. Why not allow a facitious harbour to an important mart, which will soon be stopped? The merchant ships that go and seek shelter in what is called the Flemish Bay, less than two leagues to windward of Cayes, seem to point out this as the very harbour that is wanted for this town. It would contain a good number of men of war, safe from all winds, would afford them several careening places, would admit of their doubling the Vache Island to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town along-side the coast an intercourse, which being protected by batteries properly disposed, would keep all the corsairs in awe. The only inconvenience is, that the ship-worm is more apt to get at the vessel there than in other parts, on account of the nature of the bottom, and the calmness of the sea.

THERE is a safer anchorage at the town of Coteaux, but it is only fit for small vessels. The foreign trade which is allowed there in time of war, and can hardly be prevented in time of peace, has rendered this port of consequence, which is but a defenceless one. Next to Cayes, this is the principal town upon the coast, where most business is transacted. Its territory and the adjacent country abounds chiefly in indigo, but very little of this is conveyed to France.

THE southern part terminates at cape Tiburon. The little settlement made there, instead of a harbour has nothing but a road, where the sea is constantly rough; but its fortifications are a protection to such merchant ships

as are able to double the cape. It affords a retreat to BOOK
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neutral ships, which being pursued by pirates, have not been able to reach Jaquemel; and likewise to our men of war, in danger from the violence of the winds in these latitudes, or from the superior strength of a hostile squadron.

THOUGH this coast is the least of the three belonging to the French colony of St. Domingo, and that on the last day of December 1766, it contained but 33,663 slaves; yet it is so considerable, that the mother-country may expect in time as great a produce from thence as from the richest of her windward islands. It is at present greatly exposed from its vicinity to Jamaica; but in time it may be in a condition to threaten that bulwark of the English, when once the lands are improved, the country well peopled, the sea-ports fortified and defended, and when once it has acquired that degree of solidity to which a good administration ought to bring it.

IN passing from the south to the west, the next settlement is at cape Donna Maria. It is so weak as yet, that in twenty leagues of sea-coast, there are not above fifty Europeans able to bear arms. And, indeed, a declaration of war is to them a signal of retreat, although they ventured to remain in their habitations during the late hostilities. But every inhabitant took care to manage a subterraneous retreat for himself and his slaves, whenever any privateer appeared. Notwithstanding this precaution, several of their works have been surprized and carried off.

THE next district, known by the name of la Grande Anse, or l'Anse de Jeremie, is not so liable to these accidents. This town, situated on a rising ground where the air is pure, has some good houses, and is very promising. The great plenty of cotton and cocoa has induced some merchants to trade there, and it is to this

BOOK place that privateers, which cruize upon the coast of Jamaica, bring in their prizes. Culture and population have made some progress, and promise much more.

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No such thing is to be expected at Petit Guayes. This place, so famous in the times of free-booters, is now but a heap of ruins. Its former splendor was owing to a road, where ships of all burdens found excellent anchorage, conveniences for refitting, and a shelter from all winds. As a harbour it would still be famous and frequented, were it not for the vicinity of Gonave, and for the stagnating waters of the river Abaret, which is lost in the morasses, and makes the air foul and unwholesome.

LEOGANE, situated within five leagues of Petit Guayes, contains 317 houses; which form a long square, and fifteen streets, wide and well laid out. It stands half a league from the sea, in a narrow but fertile plain, well cultivated, and watered with a great many rivulets. The inhabitants are extremely desirous of having a canal opened from the town to the anchorage, which would save the inconvenience of land carriage. If it were advisable to have a fortified town on the western coast, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It stands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ships. But to secure it from being surprised, it should be surrounded by a rampart of earth with a deep ditch, which might be filled with water without the least expence. This would not cost near so much as what has been done at Port-au-Prince; and with what success the reader shall judge.

THE western part of the island was the first that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greatest distance from the Spanish forces, which they had then reason to fear. This being in the center of the coast in their possession, the seat of government was fixed there. It

was

was first settled at the Petit Guaves, but they were soon BOOK
XIII. disgusted of the barrenness and unwholesomeness of this spot. It was then transferred to Leogane, and afterwards to Port-au-Prince, which in 1750 became the residence of a superiour council, a commander in chief and an intendant. The place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is a gap, about 1400 toises long in a direct line, and commanded on both sides. Two harbours, formed by some islets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading vessels being now almost choaked up can no longer admit men of war with safety, and the great harbour designed for these, being as unwholesome as the other from the exhalations of the small islands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing against a superior enemy.

A small squadron might even block up a stronger one, in so unfavourable a position. Gonave, which divides the bay in two, would leave a free and safe passage for the lesser squadron; the sea winds would prevent the other squadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ships from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and they would always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French squadron.

BUT what would be the consequence if the French squadron should prove the weakest? Disabled and pursued, it could never gain a shelter that runs so deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of its defeat. If the disabled ships should reach the place, nothing could hinder the enemy from pursuing them almost in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

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THE best of all stations for a cruize, is that where you may chuse whether you will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a small space to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where one may be concealed without going far, get wood and water at pleasure, and sail in open seas, in which there is nothing to fear but from squalls. These are the advantages that an enemy's squadron will always have over the French ships at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A single frigate might safely come and bid defiance to them, and would be sufficient to intercept any trading ships that should attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

NEVERTHELESS a harbour so unfavourable as this hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the sea-shore the space of 1200 toises, that is, nearly along the opening, which the sea has made in the center of the western coast. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toises, are buried 558 houses or dwelling places, dispersed in 29 streets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, make this place always damp, without supplying it with good water. The inhabitants must send a great way to get more wholesome water. Add to all this, the little security there is in a place commanded on the land side, and on the sea side, easy of access in all parts. Even the small islands which divide the harbours, would be so far from defending the town from an invasion, that they would only serve to cover the landing.

THIS description, which will not be contradicted by any unprejudiced man acquainted with the place, plainly shews that the government has bestowed too much attention on Port-au-Prince. It would be a fatal error obstinately to fight against nature, and endeavour to defend by art a place that lies open to invasion on all sides.

It would still be a greater error, to collect there the courts of justice, troops, warlike stores, provisions, the arsenal; in a word, all that constitutes the support of a great colony; and at the same time to leave it open to the enemy. This port ought merely to serve for the embarkation of the corps gathered in the adjacent fields, and in the rich plain of the Cul-de-sac. This would only require a guard sufficient to prevent a surprize, and to secure the retreat of the inhabitants, who will always be ready to abandon a place, which must inevitably surrender on the first attack,

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Saint Mark is much in the same case. This town is not very deep, but extends along the shore, at the bottom of a bay crowned with a crescent of hills, which are only parted from the sea by a very small plain. Nature has left this interval of life and cultivation between the aridity of the mountains and the abyss of the waters. But these hills, though barren, are not altogether useless: they have the property, which is found in no other part of the colony, of furnishing as good free-stone as any in Europe, and the coast itself supplies it without much labour. With this stone the town is built. It consists of 154 houses, formerly defended by an intrenchment of earth, which is no longer extant.

St. Mark is a very trading place. All such commodities as are not sent to Port-au-Prince are brought thither, as likewise are all the crops gathered from within the town to the mole of St. Nicholas. The prosperity of this place would be greatly increased, if one could water the plain of the Artibonite, which is naturally too dry, but would surpass the best lands in fruitfulness, if this could be once effected.

THE Artibonite takes its name from a river which divides it lengthways, almost from one end to the other.

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The waters of this river confined by sluices flow constantly on the highest part of the plain. The height of the bed of the river has long ago suggested the idea of dividing it, and it has been geometrically demonstrated that this is practicable; but a project founded on mathematical knowledge, ought not to be carried into execution without the utmost caution. The impetuosity of the stream, when swelled by rains, and the softness of the soil on which the river flows, make it very dangerous to make any alteration in the banks. The smallest outlet, injudiciously made, would in a few moments open such an enormous breach, as would make way for very alarming and destructive inundations over a vast tract of land.

NEVERTHELESS all the proprietors are impatient to see this great work undertaken. But administration must judge whether private societies, which solicit leave to procure conveniences of water that can only serve to enrich their own grounds, would not be detrimental to the project of watering the whole country. Rather than suffer public welfare to give place to private interest, the government should assist those who cannot afford to contribute towards the general conveyance of water. They would soon be repaid by an increase of one-sixth in the produce of the colony. This increase would be greater still, if a method could be devised to drain that part of the coast which is drowned in the waters of the Artibonite. By such means the man who enjoys the blessings of society, makes the earth subservient to his own use, by altering the course of the rivers. The fertility he imparts to the land, can alone justify his conquests, if indeed art and labour, law and virtues, may be allowed in process of time to atone for the injustice of an invasion.

THE western part of the colony, which on the last day of December, 1766, contained alone 83,080 slaves, is separated

separated from the northern part by the mole of St. Nicholas, which lays on both coasts. At the head of the cape is a good, safe, and commodious harbour. It stands directly opposite to point Maizi, in the island of Cuba, and seems naturally destined by this position to become the most important post in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1450 toises broad. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the basin. All this great recess is wholesome, though the sea is quite still there. The basin, which seems as if made for the purposes of careening, has not the inconvenience of close harbours. It is open to the west and north winds, and yet, if they blow over so hard, they can never interrupt or retard the work that is done in the harbour. The peninsula where the harbour is situated, rises gradually to the plains, which stand upon a very large basis; it seems as if were a single mountain, with a broad and flat top descending with a gentle slope to unite with the rest of the island.

THE mole of St. Nicholas was long over-looked by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and rocks it abounded with afforded nothing worth their notice. The use which the English made of it during the last war, has made it of some consequence. The French ministry, instructed by our very enemies, sent a number of Acadians and Germans there, who died there very fast. This is constantly the fate that attends all new settlements between the tropics. The few that have out-lived the fatal effects of the climate, and those of vexation and poverty, are daily deserting the poor and barren soil of St. Nicholas. Possibly the freedom granted to foreigners to frequent this place, may put a stop to the emigration. Perhaps, the facility with which the colonists may be able to dispose of their crops and their cattle in consequence of this communication, may fix them upon the lands allotted

BOOK ^{led up them.} They afford, however, no commodities fit
 XIII, for Europe, except cotton.

This next settlement on the north coast is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whose inhabitants took refuge there when they forsook that island. The grounds were cleared so early, that this is one of the healthiest spots in St. Domingo, and has long since attained the utmost degree of richness and population it is capable of; but is not very considerable, though industry has been carried so far, as even to bore mountains for the conveyance of water to moisten the grounds. They have very little sugar, and chiefly apply themselves to the culture of indigo, coffee, and cotton. It is on all sides so difficult to come at the Port Paix, that it is in a manner cut off from the rest of the island. The next settlement to this retired place is Cape François.

This town is built on the side of an extensive plain, twenty leagues long and four broad. Few lands are better watered; but there is not one river where a sloop can go up above three miles. All this great space is intersected with strait roads, forty feet wide, and planted on both sides with hedges of citron-trees, thick enough to serve as a fence against the beasts. There are long avenues of tall trees, leading up to several habitations. It were to be wished such as these had been planted along the roads; for they would not only have been ornamental, but would also have afforded a delightful shade for travellers, and prevented that scarcity of wood which is already complained of. Though the French had long been sensible of the value of this soil, which is rich and fruitful beyond description, they did not set about cultivating it till the year 1670, when they had nothing more to fear from the inroads of the Spaniards, who till then had continued

tinued in that neighbourhood in a state of hostility. The **BOOK**
 method that was taken of bringing thither the inhabi- **XIII.**
 tants of Santa Cruz and St. Christopher's, hastened the
 progress of this settlement. It is now, of all places in
 the world, that which produces the greatest quantity of
 sugar.

THE plain, which is bounded to the north only by the
 sea; is terminated to the south by a ridge of mountains,
 which varies in depth from four to eight leagues. Few
 of them are very high; several of them may be cultivated
 to the very summit, and they are all intersected at in-
 tervals with exceeding fine plantations of coffee and in-
 digo. In these delightful vales, all the sweets of spring
 are enjoyed, without either winter or summer. There
 are but two seasons in the year, and they are equally
 fine. The ground, always laden with fruits and cov-
 ered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of
 poetical descriptions. Wherever we turn our eyes we
 are enchanted with a variety of objects, coloured and re-
 flected by the purest light. The air is temperate in the
 day time, and the nights are constantly cool. The inha-
 bitants of the plain, upon which the sun darts his most
 powerful rays, repair to these mountains to breathe a
 cooler air, and allay their thirst with wholesome water.
 Happy the mortal who first taught the French to settle on
 this delicious spot.

THIS man was one of those whom the spirit of in-
 toleration in religious matters began to drive out from their
 native country. A Calvinist, named Gobin, went and
 reared the first habitation at this cape. More houses were
 built as the grounds were cleared. This settlement had
 already made such progress in the compass of five and
 twenty years, as to excite the jealousy of the English.
 They joined their forces with those of Spain, and attack-
 ing

BOOK XIII. **XIII.** ing it both by land and sea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes.

A great advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Interest, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chuse in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of the hill for the portion of the cape, because it was the place that lay most convenient for the anchorage. This situation, however, being unwholesome, should have induced the colonists to settle some where else. This circumstance they did not attend to, but rebuilt their town where it never ought to have been built at all, in a close place, in which the rays of the sun are rendered more scorching by the reflection of the mountains, and the wind can only come from the coast over the marshes. Yet such is the richness of the adjacent country, that the town has always prospered, and increased in buildings more and more pleasant and beautiful.

THE cape is now intersected by twenty-nine strait streets, into 226 clusters of houses, which amount to 810; but these streets are too narrow, and having no slope, are always dirty; for as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each side, gather into puddles and common shores, instead of draining off the waters.

SEVERAL squares have been planned in this city. That of Notre Dame, though an old one, is hardly levelled. It is a long square, with a fountain in the middle, which is often dry, for want of being properly supplied. A church has been began some years since, but its immense size, the want of money, and the tedious importation of stone from Europe, makes the work go on very slowly. The square of Clugny, which is a regular one, was built from necessity, to remove an offensive morass; and the drying

ing up of this bog must certainly contribute to the whole-BOOK
someness of the air. The governor's house, the barracks, XIII
and a royal magazine, are the only public buildings that
attract the notice of the curious; but the humane observer
cannot avoid beholding with pleasure those foundations that
are called the houses of Providence. Most of the French,
who first come into the colony, are destitute of resources
and talents, and before they have acquired industry to get
their living, are almost all carried off by sickness. At the
cape, these helpless distressed creatures are taken into two
habitations, where the men and the women are severally
provided with every thing they want, till they can get
employed. It is a shame that such an excellent institution
has not been copied in other places; a neglect equally
repugnant to humanity and good policy.

It would be for the interest of trade to erect in all colonies such hospitable houses as those of St. Domingo. These may be said to be truly pious and divine institutions, as they are calculated for the preservation of mankind. Whether it is owing to this, or to good management in other respects, certain it is, that fewer in proportion die at the cape, than in the other towns along the sea-coast. The care that has been taken to purify the air by draining the fens, the thorough clearing of the hills, the proximity of a plain almost completely cultivated, all these circumstances have concurred to correct the noxious influence of an unhealthy situation.

THE harbour of the cape deserves to receive the rich produce of all the adjacent country; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ships that come from Europe. The air is the best in all the island. It lies open to none but the north-east wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break the violence

BOOK violence of the waves. A ship gets out very easily, and
XIII. soon launches into the open sea.

FOURTEEN leagues to windward of the cape is Fort Dauphin. It was formerly a town, which was called Bayaha; but since it has been removed nearer to the sea and has changed its name with its place. The new town lies in the inmost center of a spacious harbour, which has only one outlet, formed by a channel, 1500 toises long and about 100 broad. It is surrounded by a river to the west, and terminated by the sea shore on the east. The fort stands on a very small peninsula to the north, and on the southern side is the plain. The town contains as yet but seventy houses. It is at a sufficient distance from the mountains, to be out of the reach of any hill that might reflect the heat, but some fens in the neighbourhood make the air unwholesome. The fortifications are sufficient to keep a squadron at bay for two or three days.

THOUGH this is such a fine and safe harbour, the major part of the produce of its own plain is still sent to the Cape. The mass of trade will always attract the lesser branches, and great sea-ports will absorb and dry up small ones.

Produce
and popu-
lation of
the colony.

IN 1720 the commodities of the whole colony of St. Domingo amounted only to 1,200,000 pounds weight of indigo, 1,400,000 of white sugar, and 21,000,000 of raw sugar. The plantations were extended, and in 1734 those of cotton and coffee were added. In 1754 the commodities were sold upon the spot, for 28,833,581 livres (*l*). It is true they received from the mother country to the amount of 40,628,780 livres (*m*) worth of goods. But if the colony got into debt, it was only to hasten its prosperity. The population of whites amounted then to 7758 men capable of bearing arms; to 2525 women; either

(*l*) 1,261,469*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

(*m*) 1,777,509*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

either widows or married; to 781 young marriageable persons; to 1691 boys, and 1503 girls under twelve years of age. Among the blacks or free mulattoes, were reckoned 1362 men fit to bear arms; 1626 widows or married women; 1009 boys, and 864 girls under twelve years of age. The manufactures were peopled with 79,785 negroes; 53,817 negro women; 20,518 negro boys, and 18,428 negro girls. Of raw sugar they worked 344 plantations, and 255 white sugar; 3379 of indigo; and there were cultivated 98,946 cocoa trees; 6,300,367 cotton plants; and 21,053,842 cassia trees. The provisions of the colony were 5,520,503 banana trees; 1,201,849 plots of potatoes; 226,098 plots of yams; and 2,830,586 trenches of cassava. The cattle did not exceed 63,454 horses and mules, and 92,946 heads of horned cattle.

In 1764, St. Domingo had 8,786 white men able to bear arms, of which 4,306 lived in the north, 3,470 in the west, and only 1,010 in the south. These forces were increased by 4,114 mulattoes or free negroes, who were enrolled. Of these there were 497 to the south, 2,250 to the west, and 1,370 to the north.

THE number of slaves was 206,000, men, women and children, parcelled out as follows: 12,000 in nine cities, some artificers, and some employed in domestic services; 4000 employed in the lesser towns, in the tile and brick kilns, pot-houses, lime kilns, and other necessary handicrafts; 1000 destined to the cultivation of provisions and kitchen grounds; 180,000 devoted to productions for exportation. Since this estimate was made, about fifteen thousand negroes have been brought annually into the colony. These have not supplied the place of the dead, for that vacancy was more than filled up by slaves smuggled into the island, nor have they been em-

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employed as servants in the cities, where a lesser number is kept than formerly. These fresh negroes were all able-bodied men, and have been put to the labours of the plantations, which they must have greatly improved. Neither have the plantations received any injury by the substituting of some articles in lieu of others.

INSTEAD of indigo, which began to yield but poorly on some grounds that were too much spent, forty new sugar plantations have been formed. There are now 260 to the north, 197 to the west, and 84 to the south. The refining works have been increased in still greater proportion than the plantations, and the quantity of white sugar is almost doubled. Cotton has made great progress in the valleys to the west, and coffee has thriven prodigiously in those to the north. Some plantations of cocoa have even sprung up in the woods of the great bay. Peace has restored the old branches of trade, and opened new ones. Under her protection every thing prospers and she constitutes the felicity of both worlds.

WE may affirm, from undoubted authority, that in the course of the year 1767, there have been exported from this colony no less than 72,718,781 pounds weight of raw sugar; 51,562,013 pounds of white sugar; 1,769,562 pounds of indigo; 150,000 pounds of cocoa; 12,197,977 pounds of coffee; 2,965,920 pounds of cotton; 8,470 of hides in the hair; 10,350 tanned hides; 4,108 casks of rum; 21,104 casks of molasses.

THIS is the sum total of the productions entered at the custom-houses of St. Domingo, in 1767, and exported on board 347 ships sent from France. The goods taken in under sail, the overplus of the weight, the payment of the smuggled blacks, cannot have carried away less than a sixth part of the produce of the colony, which must be added to the known estimate of her wealth.

Since

Since that period all the plantations are increased, and those of coffee trebled.

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Opinions differ as to the increase it is still capable of attaining. Some think it may be doubled, others rate it only at one third. All agree that the culture will still admit of great improvements which may be expected from the activity of the nation that is possessed of so improveable a soil. But can the nation hope to reap the fruits of her labours? Is it certain that she will always preserve the property of them? These two questions deserve a serious discussion.

THE trade which the French of St. Domingo carry on with their indolent neighbours, is of more consequence than it is generally thought to be. They supply them with stockings, hats, linnens, guns, hard wares, and some wearing apparel; and receive in payment horses, horned cattle both for slaughter and for labour, smoked beef and bacon, skins, and lastly twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres (a) which the court of Madrid devotes annually to the maintenance of the governor, the clergy and the troops in the first settlement the Spaniards ever made in the new world. Excepting some few Portugal pieces which retain a nominal value, far above their intrinsic worth, they have no coin but what they draw from their neighbours the Spaniards. Revolutions only which it is impossible to foresee, can ever put a stop to this intercourse between the two nations that divide St. Domingo, and which is carried on both by land and sea. Here mutual wants get the better of inbred antipathy, or else the uniformity of climate stifles these seeds of division.

In what manner the colony can insure the continuance of its connections with Europe.

It were to be wished that the French colonists were as certain of always keeping up their connections with Europe. Had the first adventurers who went over to

(a) About 59,000*l.* on an average.

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St. Domingo been in a condition to think of plantations, they would doubtless have seized upon that part of the island which lies most to windward, which they might easily have done. The plains on that side are large and fertile; the land lies quite open to the ocean; the coasts are safe; the harbours may be entered as soon as discovered, and one loses sight of them the very day one sails out. The track is such that no enemy can form any ambuscade; the coast is unfit for cruising; these latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the passage expeditious. But as the scheme of the French navigators was to attack the Spanish ships, and to infest the gulph of Mexico, the possessions they occupied in St. Domingo were surrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks; by Tortuga, the Caicos, Goyava, and Bucayos islands; where the roads lie concealed, and are the lurking places of the corsairs. They are also surrounded by a multitude of sand-banks and rocks, which make the progress of a ship slow and uncertain; and by narrow seas, which must give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruising.

AGAINST so many dangers no effectual remedy will ever be found out, but a squadron constantly kept there in time war, and always in motion. Whether it has been owing to inability in the government to afford this kind of protection to the colony, or to the negligence of the admirals, who have lain by inactive in the harbour with their armed vessels, certain it is, that hitherto the only plan of defence which could secure the trade of St. Domingo has never been pursued.

If the ministry and the navy should alter their principles and their conduct, the first thing to be done will be to protect the latitudes about the cape, where the navigators coming from France always enter in time of war,
and

and mostly too in the time of peace. The necessity of BOOK
XIII. reconnoitring the promontory of la Grange, situated ten leagues higher up, bring thither swarms of privateers, who seldom miss of their prey. Two good armed vessels stationed there, would easily make themselves masters of that cruize. If, contrary to all expectation, the enemy should come with a superior force, no doubt they must yield, but it would probably be but for a short time.

HAVING thus facilitated the entrance of ships to the Cape, the next thing would be to secure their going out, which might be effected in the following manner. One of the two men of war, which should always be stationed in the harbour, would take several merchant men under her convoy, see them safe out, and return within three or four days at furthest. She would seldom be in any danger, because ships of the line are hardly ever seen in those parts, nor could they be there without being observed.

WHILST one part of the Squadron was employed in protecting the navigation of the north, the rest and most considerable part would cover the other coasts of the colony. This part would have its chief station at Fort-au-prince. Two of these vessels would go from thence to the Mole St. Nicholas, as dangerous a place for ships going from the cape to the west and south, as la Grange for those that want to land at the cape. They should never pass the point of the Mole; the forces stationed to the northward should endeavour to scour the sea as far as that place, which is the more important, as all the armaments from New England going to Jamaica must be intercepted at this passage they are obliged to make. The Squadron of Port-au-prince should further be commissioned to shew itself now and then to the southward of the island, to protect its own latitudes, and to convoy all homeward-

B O O K bound ships till they were got clear of the island. It might
XIII. even occasionally go and cruize upon Jamaica when it could be spared.

HAVING thus provided for the security of the produce of the colony from the attempts of the enemy, it is incumbent on the mother-country to take the necessary measures for preserving so valuable a property.

To put an end to the disputes subsisting between the French and Spaniards at St. Domingo, it would be necessary to fix the limits of both colonies.

In former times, the Spaniards who still occupy half the island, were formidable rivals. As soon as the French had made their appearance at St. Domingo, warm contests arose between the two nations. A few private and insignificant men ventured to go to war with a people armed under a regular authority. These men were acknowledged by their country as soon as they were thought strong enough to maintain themselves in their usurpations. A commander was sent to them who bore the name of governor of Tortuga and St. Domingo, which title was afterwards changed to that of governor-general of the Leeward islands. The brave man who was first appointed to command those intrepid adventurers, caught their spirit to such a degree as to propose to his court the conquest of the whole island. He pledged his life for the success of the undertaking, provided they would send him a squadron strong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

THE ministry of Versailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a distance, left the French exposed to continual hostilities. Notwithstanding this they always repulsed them successfully, and even carried devastation into the enemy's country; but those animosities kept up in their minds a spirit of robbery and plunder, indisposed them for useful labours, and stopt the progress of agriculture, which should be the ultimate end of every well-regulated colony, and the
 first

first object of every society that is in the possession of BOOK
lands. The error which France had fallen into, in not XIII.
seconding the ardour of the new colonists for the conquest
of the whole island, was likely to have lost her that part
of which she was already in possession. Whilst the
French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688
against all Europe, the Spaniards and the English, who
both dreaded seeing them firmly established at St. Do-
mingo, united their forces to drive them out. Their first
attempts gave them reason to expect a complete success,
when they quarrelled with each other, and from that time
became irreconcilable enemies. Ducaffe, who managed
the colony with much sagacity and great reputation, took
advantage of their divisions to attack them one after the
other. He first fell upon Jamaica, where he destroyed
all with fire and sword. From thence he was preparing
to turn his arms against St. Domingo, and would infal-
libly have reduced the whole island, had he not been
stopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

The house of Bourbon ascended the throne of Spain,
and the French nation lost all hopes of conquering St.
Domingo. Hostilities, which had not even been suspended
there, by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen,
and Ryfwick, ceased at last between people who could
never be true friends to each other. The French planters
recovered their tranquillity. For some time past, their
slaves taking advantage of the national divisions, had
shaken off their chains, and removed into a district where
they found freedom and no labour. This desertion,
which must naturally have increased, was abated by the
Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the
fugitives to their neighbours, for the sum of 250
livres (a) a head. Although this agreement was not very

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religiously observed, it proved a powerful check till the dissensions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the negroes deserted their works in multitudes. This loss induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the island such neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as from their turbulent spirit. The war did not last long enough to bring about this revolution. At the conclusion of the peace, Philip V. gave orders for the restitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were just embarked, to be sent to their old masters, when the people rose and rescued them: an act which we could hardly disapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleasing to see people excited to rebellion on account of the slavery of the miserable negroes. Those who were rescued on this occasion fled into inaccessible mountains, where they have since multiplied to such a degree, as to be able to afford a safe retreat to all the slaves that can find means to join them. There, in consequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as free and as fierce as so many tygers, in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may restore the violated rights of mankind, by seizing upon an island which seems to have been intended for the slaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of those victims.

THE present system of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occasion a rupture between the two nations, notwithstanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a transient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conquests which must soon be restored. The enterprizes on both sides would, therefore

fore, be confined to ravaging the country; and in this case BOOK
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the nation that does not cultivate, at least at St. Domingo, would prove formidable by its very poverty, to that which has already made some progress in the culture of its lands. A Castilian governor was so sensible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that if he forced him to an invasion, he would destroy more in the compass of one league, than they could if they were to lay waste all the country he commanded.

HENCE it is demonstrable, that if a war should break out in Europe between the two powers, the most active of those powers ought to ask for a neutrality in favour of this island. Perhaps, it would be for the interest of both, that it should be totally in the hands of the most laborious. But even though the court of Madrid should resolve to relinquish a territory which is rather a burthen to Spain, there are still many difficulties remaining. Great-Britain, who is now mistress of the fate of America, would hardly consent to such an accession of wealth to her rival.

A more natural scheme, and which ought to meet with no obstacle, would be to fix the boundaries of the two nations that share St. Domingo. This arrangement ought to have taken place on the accession of Philip V. to the throne; an event which gave the French possessions of a degree of stability they never had before. It might have been expected, that the nation which gave the other a king, should have stipulated that all the territory lying between the coasts they inhabited to the north and south, should remain under their dominion. More powerful interests then claimed the attention of both parties, and this discussion was put off to another time, which is never come. Not a single conference has ever been opened to settle this difficulty. This neglect has been the occasion

BOOK sion of much bloodshed amongst the inhabitants. The
XIII. seeds of rage and discord were sown in every breast; and at last, in 1730, both nations took up arms to destroy each other. The principal people of both colonies succeeded at that time in calming their fury, by a provisional convention; but the successors of those able and moderate men may not always have the same authority or the same good fortune. The most effectual method would be to put an end for ever to this intestine war, by legally authenticating the respective property of both parties.

To proceed with order and justice, it would be proper to go as far back as the year 1700. At that period, both nations being upon friendly terms, remained the just owners of the lands they then possessed. The encroachments made during the course of this century, by the subjects of one of the crowns, are the incroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful possessions by being tolerated, and the rights of both powers are still the same, since they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

Now it is evident from incontestable facts, that in the beginning of this century, the French possessions which are now bounded on the northern coast by the river of Massacre, extended then to the river Yague. Those of the southern coast, which had been pushed on as far as the point of Cape Beata, have been contracted in process of time to the inlet of Pitre. This revolution has been insensibly brought about, and is the natural consequence of the oeconomical system of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itself chiefly to agriculture, has collected all its possessions towards the most frequented ports, where the produce might be most readily disposed of. The other, whose
 sub-

subjects were shepherds rather than planters, wanting BOOK
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more room for the breeding of cattle, have seized upon all the forsaken lands. By the nature of things, the pastures have been enlarged and the fields contracted, or at least brought closer together. It is not equitable that the most industrious nation, that which does most good to the ground by improving it, should be stripped by the other, which only wanders about and consumes without propagating.

It would not be so easy to fix the boundaries of the French in the inland parts, the frequent and daily revolutions that have happened there, having occasioned much uncertainty and confusion. The two colonies are at present separated by the mountains of Ouanaminthe, of the Trou, of the great river, of the Artibonite, and of the Mirchalai. By this barrier, the French are confined every where, excepting the points of Môle St. Nicholas and Cape Tiburon, to a narrow slip, which extends no where more than nine leagues and a half, and in some places not above six leagues at most. This territory forms a kind of crescent, whose convexity takes in 250 leagues of sea coast, to the north, west and south. But these limits cannot subsist, for a reason which must get the better of all other considerations.

THE French settlements to the north, are divided from those to the west and south by inaccessible mountains. The impossibility of succouring them, exposes them to the invasion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. The common danger, which creates a kind of reciprocal interest, should engage the court of Madrid to settle the limits in such a manner, that her ally may find the assistance she may want for her defence. The land that should be given up is rugged, a very indifferent soil, and at a great distance from the sea. The proprietors of these

BOOK lands, which are, indeed, uncultivated, but covered with
 XIII. flocks, should be indemnified by France, with a generosity which should leave them no room to regret what they had lost.

Measures which ought to be taken by France, to protect this colony from foreign invasions. WHEN the possessions of the colony are thus connected and supported within, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, they must be fortified against the attacks of the only enemy that is truly formidable, the English. If they mean to attack St. Domingo by the west or south, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the north, they will make their preparations at Barbadoes, or some other of the Leeward islands, from whence they may reach the Cape in seven or eight days, whereas it would take five or six weeks to come to that port from Jamaica.

THE west and south are incapable of being defended. The immense extent of the tract renders it impossible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motions of the troops. If they are dispersed, they become useless by being divided; if they are collected, for the defence of such posts as are most liable to be attacked, from the natural weakness of their position, they would be in danger of being all lost at once. Large battalions would be but a burden upon such extensive coasts, which present too much flank or too much front to the enemy. We must be content with erecting or keeping up batteries to protect the roads, the merchant ships, and the coasting trade, to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coast and levy contributions. The light troops, which are sufficient to support these batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid surrendering till they are in danger.

BUT it is not necessary that we should give up every kind of defence. At the back of each coast, there should be a place

place for shelter and for reinforcement, always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, safe from insults, and able to repulse an attack. This should be a narrow pass, where one might intrench and defend one's self to advantage. Such is that of *la Gascogne* on the western coast. It has every natural advantage of situation, with this only inconvenience, that it is not placed in the middle between all the quarters. The general rendezvous for the south, established on the habitation called *Perrein*, at the distance of 10,000 toises from the *Cayes*, is a retreat capable of very great resistance. In the center of all motions of retreat, it comprehends all that can be wished for as a defence. Nature has provided it with a narrow pass, and at the same time covered its flanks, and left an opening at the back, which, whilst it shuts every avenue against an enemy, secures a communication with the interior parts of the colony.

From these impregnable retreats, they may continually harass the conqueror, who having no strong hold, will be perpetually exposed to be surprized. These alarms would be doubled, if our people were provided with a few squadrons of light horse, which might be procured at a small expence. The Spaniards of *St. Domingo* sell Andalusian horses at a moderate price, which are very tractable, and yet full of spirit, are unshod, and feed all the year round in the meadows, where they sleep in open air. These are excellent for skirmishes, and they will afford time to wait for succours, which may be brought up at any time from the north. The troops employed in this service, may, if wanted, fly to the assistance of those other parts of the colony which can only be attacked by sea.

All those who are acquainted with the island of *St. Domingo*, know that the French settlements make as it were two distinct colonies, one to the south and west, and the

BOOK the other to the north, which have no real and beneficial
XIII. communication with the continent. So that even sup-
 posing the English were so strong, or had actually got a
 firm footing in the west and south, they never could pe-
 netrate to the north by land. Should they attempt it,
 it must be by that narrow slip which joins the French
 possessions on the west and north, at Cape St. Nicholas,
 or else by crossing the Spanish territories, both which are
 impracticable.

THE first is a barren desert, so full of forests, passes,
 and precipices, that a man on foot cannot get through
 but with much time and extreme labour. The other way
 is little better. It lies across the Spanish mountains,
 which are high, barren, and craggy, and whoever should
 attempt to pass them, must expect to be harrassed. The
 northern coast, therefore, being inaccessible by land, can
 only be attacked by sea. As it is richer, more populous,
 and less extensive than the other two, it is more adapted
 to support a land war, and to make a regular defence.

THE sea-side, which is more or less rocky, is in many
 places swampy ground, and the mangroves, which cover
 these marshes, make them quite impenetrable. This na-
 tural defence is not so common as it was, since many of
 these coppices have been cut away. But the landing places,
 which are commonly no better than gaps, surrounded on
 all sides by these woods overflowed with water, require
 but a moderate front to stop them up. Magazines, and
 other stone buildings are common there; they furnish
 posts for the erection of battlements; and secure the placing
 of some masked batteries.

THIS first line of the shore seems to promise, that
 a coast of eighteen leagues, so well defended by nature,
 would, when seconded by the valour of the French, put
 the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they
 should

should land. If their schemes were discovered, or if the dispositions they were making at sea, should point out from afar the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience shews the infallible advantage of squadrons at anchor.

It is not only the firing of broadsides from the ships to cover the approach of the boats that facilitates landing; it is the impossibility there is of guarding every part of the coast. A squadron at anchor threatens too many places at once. Land forces move very slowly about the windings of the coast, while the boats and sloops arrive speedily by a shorter way. The assailer follows the string, while the other must go all along the bow. Disappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not less apprehensive of those he sees by broad day light, than of the manoeuvres of the night which he cannot see.

In order to be able to oppose a descent, the first thing to be done is to suppose it actually accomplished; all our courage and strength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or mistakes of the enemy. As soon as they are observed at sea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large shore, on which a landing may be effected, will always leave the plain of the Cape open to invasion; so that the chief attention must be directed, not to the sea-shore, but to the inland parts.

THE inland parts are in general covered with sugar-canes, which being more or less high, according to their degree of maturity, successively make the fields appear so many thickets. These are occasionally set on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's pursuit, to deceive or astonish him. In two hours time, instead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be seen but an immense waste, covered with stubble.

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THE partitions of the cane-grounds, the savannahs, and the fields where the provision grows, no more obstruct the motions of an army than our meadows. Instead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not so populous, but stand thicker. The thick and strait hedges of citron-trees, are closer and more impenetrable than the fences that inclose our fields. This is what constitutes the greatest difference in the view of the fields of America and those of Europe.

THROUGHOUT the plain of the Cape there are but few rivers, some few brooks, little hillocks; in general the country is flat, there are some dikes against inundations, few ditches if any, a wood or two, but not very thick, a few fens, a ground that is overflowed in a storm, and grows dusty again with twelve hours sunshine, rivers that fill one day and dry the next; such is the general face of the country. This diversity must afford advantageous encampments, and it must ever be remembered, that in a defensive war, the post one removes to cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

IT is not the province of a writer to prescribe rules to military men. Cæsar himself told us what he had done, not what we are to do. Topographical descriptions, determining the goodness of such or such a post, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the most learned theory; all these must be submitted to the eye of the general, who with the principles in his head, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumstances of time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which suits the order of the operations to the diversity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberless exceptions. The very execution almost always alters the plan, and discomposes the system of an action. The
courage

courage or shyness of the troops, the rashness of the enemy, the good or bad success of his measures, an accidental combat, an unforeseen event, a storm that swells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a snare or an ambuscade under clouds of dust, thunder that frightens the horses, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which constantly influences the spirits of the commander and the blood of the soldiery: all these are so many physical or moral causes, which by their uncertainty may overturn the best concerted projects.

WHATEVER place is made choice of for a descent at St. Domingo, the town of the cape will always be the object. The landing will undoubtedly be somewhere in the bay of the Cape, where the ships will be ready to augment the land-forces with two thirds of their crews, and to furnish them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the siege of that opulent fortress. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the assailer must be directed. The choice of advantageous positions will in some measure make up for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground must be disputed by supporting a kind of false attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. The troops must be posted in such a manner as to secure two retreats, the one towards the Cape, to form the garrison of that place, the other in the narrow passes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the besiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place surrender, as it would be an easy matter to favour the evasion of the troops, when they evacuate the place, all the business would not yet be over. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inaccessible

to

BOOK XIII. to an army, surround the plain with a double or treble chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow passes, which may be easily defended. The principal of these is the defile of the great river, where the enemy would find two or three passes of the river, that reach from one mountain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would stop the most numerous army, by only sinking the bed of the waters. This resistance might be seconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are settled in these valleys. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are smaller, they cannot afford to consume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, so that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own subsistence; from this they might easily supply the troops that should defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of fresh meat, could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vast quantities of cattle on the backs of these mountains.

AFTER all, it may happen that the firmness of the troops may be worn out by the want of provisions or warlike stores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This suggested the idea some years ago at Versailles, of building a fortified town in the center of the mountains. Marshal Noailles was a warm advocate for this scheme. It was then imagined, that by means of some redoubts of earth, the enemy might be inticed by regular attacks, and insensibly exhausted by the loss of a great many men in a climate where sickness destroys more than the sword. It was suggested that no more strongholds should be erected on the frontiers, where they lie exposed to the invasion of the masters of the sea, because while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become so many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can easily take and guard them with their ships, and make a deposit, or draw

draw from thence arms and men to keep the vanquished BOOK
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in awe. An entirely open country was better in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime strength, than forces dispersed and forsaken upon shores wasted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the centre of the island that the hopes of establishing a solid defence were conceived. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obstacles; where every march would cost several fights, in which the advantage of the posts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the distance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in short, would conspire to destroy the enemy: such was to be as it were the glacis of the intended fortification. This capital was to stand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains below; in the midst of a country which would supply the town with necessaries, particularly rice; surrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a soil most favourable to their increase, would be reserved for times of need; provided with store-houses proportioned to the town and garrison. Such a city would have changed the colony into a kingdom, able to support itself for a long time; whereas its present opulence does but weaken it, and having superfluities without necessaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them sustenance.

If the enemy had made themselves masters of the sea-coast, which would not be disputed with them, and were desirous of collecting the produce, they would stand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defensive; for more than this, the continual excursions from the centre would not permit them to do. The troops in the inland

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inland parts of the island, always sure of a respectable retreat, might easily be relieved by recruits from Europe, which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the center of a circle of so immense a circumference; whereas all the English fleets would not be sufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garrisons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the evidence of these advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a system pursued, which would confine the whole defence of the island to the mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who do not like to see ramparts near their plantations, as they do them more mischief than they can do them good. They are sensible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they should have none but light troops left in their neighbourhood on the three coasts, which are sufficient to drive away the privateers with their batteries, and are besides very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without resistance, and to disperse or capitulate on the least intimation of an invasion.

THIS plan, so favourable to private interest, has also met with the approbation of some persons well versed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner lost in so large an island as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the Mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been chosen, as the most respectable post. This new city stands on the margin of a plain, which is high enough to be cool. Its territory is covered with a natural savannah, and adorned with groves of palm trees of various kinds. It is not overlooked, which is an uncommon circumstance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regular place, and of any strength. If it did not prevent an invasion,

invasion, it would at least hinder the conquerors from getting a firm establishment upon the coasts.

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It were to be wished, say the statesmen, that from the first moment they begun the works at the Mole, they had at once fortified it to the degree that so advantageous a situation will admit of. It is a treasure, the possession of which should have been secured as soon as it was discovered. Should this precious key of St. Domingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the English, which it may very possibly do on the breaking out of a war, which cannot be far off, this Gibraltar of America, would be more fatal to France and Spain, than even that of Europe.

It is no wonder if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have had so little solidity in them. As long as forecast and protection shall be confined to secondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conquest of the island, no invariable plan can be pursued. Fixed principles are the charter of such powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loss of, or secure the recovery of their colonies. Those of France are not guarded by those floating arsenals, which can at the same time attack and defend. Their mother country is not yet possessed of such a navy as to make her formidable. But does she at least govern her possessions abroad by the maxims of sound policy and good order? This is what we shall next inquire into.

THE British government ever actuated by the national spirit, which seldom deviates from the true interests of the state, has carried into the new world that right of property which is the ground work of her legislation. From a conviction, that man never thinks he fairly possesses any thing but what he has lawfully acquired, they have, indeed,

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BOOK sold the lands, but at a very moderate price to such as
XIII. were willing to clear them. This appeared to them the
 surest way to hasten the cultivation of the lands, and to
 prevent partialities and jealousies, the necessary conse-
 quences of a distribution guided by caprice or favour.

Is the right of property respected in the French islands? **FRANCE** has taken a method seemingly more generous, but not so prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. No regard was paid to their abilities or circumstances; the interest of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. Indeed, it was stipulated, that they should begin their settlements within a year after the grant, and not discontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But besides the hardship of requiring those men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchase, the penalty fell upon them only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make interest with the great; or upon minors, who being left destitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been assisted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or supported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progress of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to domestic life. First, it was required of every person who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every slave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public interest, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to bear richer crops, and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, useless. This double fault could not but lessen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and indeed this law, which

which affected the disposal of property, has never been strictly put in execution; but as it has also never been repealed, it still remains a scourge in the hand of any ignorant, capricious, or passionate minister, who may chuse to make use of it against the inhabitants. This evil, great as it is, is however the least of their grievances. The restraint of the Agrarian laws is still increased by the burden of the labours imposed upon the vassals.

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THERE was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and silver had little or nothing to do with public or private bargains. The nobles served the state, not with their purses, but with their persons; and those of their vassals, who were their property by right of conquest, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth or in so much labour. These customs, so destructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their rise. But at last they were dropped gradually, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by restoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the sole master, abolished, as a magistrate, some abuses arising from the right of war, which destroys every other right. But several of these usurpations, which time had consecrated, were still retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vassals, has been kept up in some states, where the nobles have lost all, and the people have not acquired any advantage by it. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage, and this injustice has been methodized, as if to give it a colour of justice. The consequences of this horrid system have been still more severely felt in the colonies. The culture of these lands, from the nature of the climate, and of the productions, requiring expedition, cannot

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easily spare a number of hands to be sent a great way off, and employed in public works, which are often useless, and should never be carried on but by idle hands. If the mother country, with all the various means she can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardships of these services, she ought to consider what evils must result from them beyond the seas, where the direction of these works is committed to two overseers, who can neither be directed, censured, nor controuled, in the arbitrary exercise of absolute power. But the burden of these services is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

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islands?

A tax may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, necessary for the preservation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues, requires a proper force to defend them from invasion, and a police that secures the liberty of improving them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and just; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now all the government expences, which the mother country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the restraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone, and in such a manner as is best adapted to her wants. This subjection is the most grievous of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

ANY one must be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of situation between the old world and the new. In Europe, subsistence and home consumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the islands, the whole is to be exported. There, subsistence and property are alike precarious.

In Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the husbandman of their foreign trade; the business still goes

goes on at home. In the islands, hostilities annihilate every thing, there are no more sales, no more bargains, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his costs. BOOK
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In Europe, the owner of a small estate, who can afford to lay out but little, improves his land as much in proportion as he that has a wide domain and immense treasures. In the islands, the improvement of the smallest plantation requires a pretty good stock to begin with.

In Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another: and the state is not impoverished by these private debts. Those of the islands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the losses incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a stop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow such large sums, that they may be considered rather as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

WHETHER these reflections have not occurred to the French ministry, or whether particular circumstances have obliged them to depart from their plan, certain it is they have added fresh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their necessaries from France, and to send thither all their own commodities. Every negro has been taxed. In some settlements, this poll tax has been confined to the working blacks, in others it was laid on all the slaves without distinction. Both these arrangements have been opposed by the colony assembled at St. Domingo: let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

CHILDREN, old and infirm men make up about one third of the slaves. Far from being useful to the planter, some of them are only a dead weight, which humanity alone can prompt him to support, while the rest

BOOK can afford him but distant and uncertain hopes. It is
 XIII. hard to conceive how the treasury should have thought of
 taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

THE poll tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to say, it is fixed upon a person who exists no more. Suppose a slave dies after the assessment has been made, the master must go on paying the tax, though he is already a great loser by the death of his black, who was a part of his property, and whose labour was a part of his income.

EVEN the working slaves are not an exact tariff of the appraisement of a planter's income. With a few negroes, a good soil will yield more than a poor one will with a great many. The commodities are not all of the same value, tho' they are all procured by the labour of those persons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, suspends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring insects, often destroy the fruits of labour. Suppose all things alike, a lesser number of hands makes in proportion a lesser quantity of sugar; either because the whole of the wants must be taken into consideration, or because labour is truly productive only so far as it can seize the most favourable opportunities.

THE poll tax upon blacks becomes a more intolerable grievance still in time of war. A planter who cannot then dispose of his commodities, and must run in debt to support himself and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for slaves whose labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance. Nay he is often constrained to send them far from his plantation, for the imaginary wants of the colony, to feed them there at his own expence, and to see them perish, whilst he is under the
 cruel

cruel necessity of replacing them one time or other, if ^{BOOK} ever he means to retrieve his wasted and sinking lands. ^{XIII.}

THE burden of the poll tax lay still heavier upon such of the proprietors as were absent from the colony, for these were condemned to pay the tax treble, which was the more unjust, as it was a matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were consumed at home or in the islands. It could not surely be her intention to hinder the emigration of the colonists. It is only by the mildness of the government that citizens can be fixed in a country, not by prohibitions and penalties. Besides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a sultry climate, had contributed to the public prosperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother country. Nothing could more effectually rouse the ambition and activity of numbers of idle people, than to be spectators of their fortune, and the state might thus get rid of these useless men to the profit of industry and commerce.

Nothing can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the necessity of selling obliges the planter to lower the price of his goods. Selling cheap can never be an advantage, but when it is the result of great plenty, and of a very brisk circulation. But a man is ruined if he must constantly carry on a losing trade, in order to pay taxes. Trade is destroyed by the absorbing channels of the treasury, which is always receiving, but never returns any thing.

LASTLY it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor must give in an annual account of the number of his slaves. To prevent false entries, they must be verified by clerks or excisemen. Every negro that is not entered should be forfeited; which would be a very absurd practice, because every labouring negro is so

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much stock, and by seizing him, you diminish the culture, and annihilate the very object for which the duty was laid. So it is that in the colonies, where nothing can prosper without a profound tranquillity, a destructive war is carried on between the finance and the planter. Law-suits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous measures become necessary, and the costs are great and ruinous.

If the negro tax is unjust in its extent, unequal in its repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it; the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies, is nearly as injudicious. The government ventured to do it from a persuasion that this duty would fall entirely upon the consumer and the merchant; but there cannot be a more dangerous error in political œconomy, than this is.

THE act of consuming does not supply money to buy what is consumed; this must be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their origin, is in fact paid by the first proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the case, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the rest must rise in proportion. In this situation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the consumption of the advanced article will increase, and if it decrease, the price will fall of course, and the dearness will have been only transient.

THE merchant can no more take the duty upon him than the consumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice, but if he cannot make a natural and necessary profit upon the commodities so taxed, he will soon drop that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits,

fits, is to suppose that his profits were exorbitant, and that the competition which was then insufficient, will grow brisker when the profits are less. If on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than necessary, it is supposing that the competition will subsist, though the profits that gave rise to it subsist no longer. We must admit all these absurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the islands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the first, second, or hundredth hand.

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FAR from thus burthening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities, since by the state of prohibition in which their trade is kept, these liberalities, with all the fruits of them, must of necessity return to the mother-country.

If the situation of a state that is involved by losses or mismanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or easing the subjects of their burthens, the payment of the taxes in colonies themselves might, at least, be suppressed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next best system that could be pursued, and would be equally agreeable to the two worlds.

Nothing is so pleasing to an American, as to remove from his sight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors a standing tax, and dreads the increase of them. He seeks in vain for that liberty which he thought to have found at the distance of two thousand leagues from Europe. He spurns at a yoke which pursues him through the storms of the ocean. Discontented and inwardly repining at the restraint he still feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country, which, by the name of mother, calls for his blood instead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his sight; let his riches

BOOK riches pay their tribute to the mother-country only at
XIII. landing there, and he will fancy himself free and privileged; though at the same time by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of those that come from Europe, he, in fact, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he is ignorant.

NAVIGATORS will also find an advantage in paying duty only upon goods that have reached the place of their destination in their full value and without any risque, and will restore the capital of their stock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchased of the prince the very hazards of shipwreck, and of losing a cargo for which they had paid duty at embarking. Their ships, on the contrary, will bring back in goods the amount of the duty, and the productions being advanced in value about twenty-one per cent. by exportation, the duty will hardly be felt.

LASTLY, the consumer himself will be a gainer by it, because the colonist and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time he will not feel the good effects. All the taxes will no sooner be reduced to a single one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and consequently the goods can be afforded at a cheaper rate.

EVEN the state itself might find a considerable political advantage in this. By this new arrangement, there would be such a thing as a country, in outward appearance exempt from all taxes, and enjoying absolute franchise. Such an event would be the more striking, at a time when the English colonies groan under the burthen of fresh taxes. The contrast would aggravate their sufferings; their murmurs and their boldness would know no bounds; they would learn to place some confidence in a government which they have hitherto accused of
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being tyrannical; and in case of a revolt in North-BOOK
America, that vast region would be left afraid of putting XIII.
itself under the protection of France.

THIS system of moderation, which every thing seems to point out as the fittest, will be easily introduced. All the productions of the islands are subject, at their entry into the kingdom, to the name of *Domaine d'Occident*, or western domain, which is fixed at three and a half per cent. with two sols (s) per livre. Their value, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty or five and twenty per cent. below the real course. The western office allows besides a more considerable tare than the seller in trade does. Add to this duty, that which the commodities pay at the custom-houses of the colonies, which brings in much the same, and those that are paid in the inland parts of the islands, and we shall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the settlements in America.

If this fund was confounded with the other revenues of the state, we might be apprehensive that it was not applied to its destination, which should be solely the protection of the islands. The unforeseen exigencies of the royal treasury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are some moments when the critical state of the disease will not admit of calculating the inconveniences of the remedy. The most urgent necessity engrosses the attention. Nothing then is safe from the gripe of arbitrary power, urged by the wants of the present moment. The ministry takes and continues emptying, in hopes of replacing shortly, but these hopes are always baffled by fresh wants.

HENCE it appears that it would be highly necessary that the chest destined for the duties on the productions of the

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(s) A penny.

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colonies, should be quite separate from the revenues of the kingdom. The monies deposited there would always be ready to answer the demands of those settlements. The colonist who always has stock to send over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, when he was once assured that they would meet with no delays or difficulties. This kind of bank would soon create a new tie and fresh correspondence between the mother-country and the islands; the court would be better acquainted with the state of their affairs in these distant countries, and would recover the credit they have long since lost, but which is of the utmost consequence, especially in time of war. We shall now put an end to our discussions on taxes, and pass on to what concerns the militia.

Is the militia well regulated in the French islands?

THE French islands, like those of other nations, had no regular troops at first. The adventurers, who had conquered them, took a pride in defending themselves, and the descendants of those intrepid men thought themselves strong enough to guard their own possessions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulse a few vessels, which came and landed some sailors and soldiers, as undisciplined as themselves.

THINGS are now, and, indeed, must have undergone an alteration. As these settlements became more considerable, it was to be expected that they would sooner or later be attacked by European fleets and armies, and this made it necessary to send them other defenders. The event has shewn the insufficiency of a few scattered battallions, to make head against the land and sea forces of England. The colonists themselves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution, and fearing that a fruitless resistance would only exasperate the enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate

ulate than to fight. Having become political calculators BOOK
XIII. they felt themselves unfit for military operations, and paid their money to be discharged from a service, which, though glorious in its principle, had degenerated into a burthensome servitude. The militia was suppressed in 1764.

THIS act of compliance has been applauded by those who only considered this institution as the means of preserving the colonies from all foreign invasions. They imagined very judiciously that it was unreasonable to require that men, who were grown old under the hardships of a scorching climate, in order to raise a large fortune, should expose themselves to the same dangers as to those poor victims of our ambition who are perpetually hazard-ing their lives for five pence a day. Such a sacrifice has appeared unnatural, and the ministry who gave up so vain and burthensome a defence have been applauded by some.

OTHERS, who are better acquainted with the American settlements, have not judged so favourably of this innovation. The militia, say they, is necessary to preserve the interior police of the islands, to prevent the revolt of the slaves, to check the incursions of the fugitive negroes, to hinder the banditti from assembling in troops, to protect the navigation along the coasts, and to keep off the corsairs. If the inhabitants are not embodied, if they have neither commanders nor standards, which of them will march to the assistance of his neighbours? There is no one to warn him of his danger, no one to command him; and that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing is done properly, will totally be interrupted.

THESE reflections, which, though striking and natural, had at first escaped the court of Versailles, have quickly

BOOK XIII. quickly made her retract. They restored the militia faster than they had abolished it. As early as the year 1766, the Leeward islands submitted to it without any great resistance, though an opposition might have been expected from the continuance of the new taxes, when their object no longer subsisted. St. Domingo warmly expostulated against this abuse of an authority, which was too hasty and too fickle, not to excite murmurings.

A philosophical administrator, who was eye witness to the opposition which the re-establishment of a forced militia met with from the inhabitants of St. Domingo, proposed to make it voluntary. He made no doubt but that the prospect of glory or fortune would have induced half the colony, whose example would have influenced the other half, to solicit as an honour what they abhorred as a yoke. But this expedient, ingenious as it was, and effectual as it would have been, was improper, because it would have affected that uniformity which ought to subsist between islands that are under the same government. Such a distinction would have laid the foundation of jealousies and divisions, which would, sooner or later, have proved fatal to the colonies, if not to the mother country itself.

WITHOUT any of these political artifices, the people of St. Domingo have resumed the military service. Indeed it has been with reluctance, founded upon grievances which cannot be too soon redressed. It is well-known, that a militia is a great restraint upon civil liberty, which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe, where we hear of nothing but authority. It exposes the citizen to numberless vexations. The evils it has occasioned have stamped a sense of horror for this kind of servitude, which none can wonder at but tyrants or slaves. The business is, if possible, to eradicate the impressions

pressions of the past, and remove all mistrust for the future. The condescension and moderation of government must put an end to the apprehensions of the colonies, by making all those alterations in the form of the militia, which are consistent with its object, which is to maintain public order and safety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the sovereign do not tend to this point, he will only live upon money and records, soon worn out by time, and despised by posterity. In vain does flattery raise superb and numerous monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that consecrates them, and affection that makes them immortal. Without this, public homage is only a proof of the meanness of the people, not of the greatness of the ruler. There is one statue in Paris, the sight of which makes every heart exult with sentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards that image of paternal and popular kindness. The silent tears of the oppressed call upon it, secretly bless the hero it immortalizes. All voices join to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapsed. His name is in veneration to the uttermost parts of America. In every heart he protests against the abuses of authority; declares against the usurpations of the rights of the people; he promises the subjects the redress of their grievances, and an increase of prosperity, and demands both of the ministry.

It is scarce credible, that a law, seemingly dictated by nature; a law which occurs instantly to every just and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to its rectitude and utility; it is scarce credible that such a law should sometimes be prejudicial to the maintenance of our societies, stop the progress of colonies, divert them from the end of their destination, and gradually

Is the regulation of inheritance properly settled in the French islands?

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BOD have the way to their ruin. Strange as it may seem,
 VIII. this law is no other than the equal division of estates

among children or co-heirs. This law, so conformable to nature, should be abolished in America.

THIS division was necessary at the first formation of colonies. Immense tracts of lands were to be cleared. This could not be done without people, nor could men who had quitted their own country for want, be any other-wise fixed in those distant and desert regions, than by assigning them a property. Had the government refused to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from place to place, with the disappointment of beginning numberless settlements, and bringing none to bear, so as to be beneficial to the mother country.

BUT since inheritances, too extensive at first, have in process of time been reduced by a series of successions, and by the sub-divisions of shares, to such a compass as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; since they have been so limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands proportionable to their extent, a further division of lands would bring them again to nothing. In Europe, an obscure man who has but a few acres of land, will make that little estate go farther in proportion, than an opulent man will the immense property he is possessed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable, the uncertainty of the crops, which are but of few kinds, the quantity of slaves, of cattle, of utensils necessary for a plantation, all this requires a large stock, which they have not in some, and will soon not have in any colonies, if the lands are parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditary successions.

If a father leaves an estate of 30,000 livres (g) a year, BOOK
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and this estate is equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three distinct plantations; the one, because he has been made to pay dear for the buildings, and because he has too few negroes and too little land in proportion; the other two, because they must build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation remains in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worse state than any other man, estates have risen to an immoderate value. The possessor of the whole, will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for interest than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary law of our nature is, the procuring of subsistence, he will begin by living without paying. His debts will accumulate, he will soon become insolvent, and the confusion consequent upon such a situation, will end in the ruin of the whole family.

THE only way to remedy these disorders, is to abolish the equality of divisions. In this enlightened age we should see the necessity of letting the colonies be more stocked with things than with men. The wisdom of the legislature will, doubtless, contrive some method of providing for those who will be stript, and in some measure sacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon fresh lands, and to subsist by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this sort of men, and their industry would open a fresh source of wealth to the state.

AT the conclusion of the peace a favourable opportunity offered itself, for making the proposed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity to repeal the law relating to division, by distributing to those whose expectations they

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had

BOOK had frustrated, such lands as they intended for culture.
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The immense sums that have been thrown away upon these lands to no purpose, would have been much better bestowed in enabling these people to clear and cultivate them. Men inured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could possibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, assistance, and advice of their own families, and aided by the slaves with which government would have supplied them, were much fitter for this purpose than a set of profligate men, collected from the very sinks of Europe, and much more likely to raise the new colonies to that pitch of wealth and prosperity which might be expected. Unfortunately we were not aware, that the first colonies in America must have increased by slow degrees and of themselves, with the loss of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, because they had no competition to support; but the succeeding settlements can only be formed in the way of generation, as an old swarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one island must spread into another, and the superfluities of a rich colony furnish necessities to an infant settlement. This is the natural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and destructive. Though the court of Versailles has overlooked this plain principle, productive of so much good, that is no reason why they should reject the proposal of putting a stop to the farther division of lands. If the necessity of such a law is evident, it must be enacted, though the present period be less favourable than that which hath been neglected. When the decay of the plantations is repaired, by suppressing that parcelling of lands which cuts off all the springs of increase, we may then compel

compel them to clear themselves of the debts with which they are now oppressed.

THE French islands, like all others in America, can only be cultivated by blacks. Their climate lays them under a necessity of purchasing labourers. To procure them, they must have capitals, and the first inhabitants had none. They raised them by trade, which therefore gave these valuable settlements their first existence. This kind of assistance, which, perhaps, has been since too easily granted, has involved them in debts, which have increased as they have proceeded in clearing a greater extent of land.

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Has the
payment of
debts con-
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the French
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judiciously
provided
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THE equality of partition between the several heirs, has raised up creditors within the colonies, as there were already without. As the colonies grew richer, their credit increased in proportion to the multiplicity of divisions. When the population increased to such a degree that the number of colonists exceeded that of plantations, the superfluous numbers then remaining unemployed became creditors to estates they did not occupy, and were therefore not only useless but even burthensome to cultivation. We have just pointed out a way to prevent the necessity of this credit within the islands; but in what manner shall the debts contracted abroad be discharged?

We are told that the planters should spend but a part of their income, and reserve the rest for the fulfilling of their engagements. But it is not considered that those who could afford to make these savings, are just the very people that owe nothing; whereas the debtors have such a scanty income, that they cannot possibly save any thing. Besides, nothing would be more unreasonable than to introduce this system of oeconomy into the colonies. As the value of their produce is entirely owing to exchange, and that in this case the exchange would be

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in a manner annihilated, because it would be confined to cheap articles of mere necessity; the Americans would either be obliged to raise but few of their own commodities, or to give them for nothing. Should the mother-country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the sale of their merchandise, then all the gold that is drawn from one part of America would return to the other. There is a power, known by the superiority of its naval force, which, after ten years of such a trade, would be sure of finding in these islands a compensation for any war it might undertake; and it would be highly impolitic for France to invite that power to attack her settlements abroad.

TRADERS are no less interested than the government in the perpetuity of debts. The colonies were first established upon credit. When the first cultivators had cleared themselves, the loan has been renewed to their successors; and the present possessors still enjoy the same benefit. If they were compelled to pay off this loan, it might soon be done, but culture would suffer by it; and though it might not, possibly, degenerate, yet it would nevertheless be deprived of the first fruits of virgin lands, which are always most fertile. Traders would then find fewer commodities to buy in the islands; they would have no demand for slaves, utensils, and all other articles necessary for new settlements, and which are almost as considerable as those which are requisite for the wants or luxury of the settled plantations. In process of time their transactions would be still more reduced. It is well known how reluctantly they see the rich planter accustom himself to send his own productions to Europe, to fetch his own consumption from thence, and reduce his agents to the bare profits of commission. If that dependence, which is a necessary consequence of debts, should cease,

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it would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, that would make their own purchases and sales in the mother-country: they would all become traders, and even would soon have no competitors, because they alone would be acquainted with the measure of their own wants.

CANNT therefore is evidently the basis of all useful connections between the merchants of France and her colonies; and to restore their stock, would be in effect to deprive them of their profits. Unreasonably have they complained for these forty years past, that they are absolutely ruined by the delays they experience in the payments; the fortunes that have been made in the ports of France by their intercourse with the islands, are a proof of the injustice of these complaints.

HOWEVER, political utility, or even the necessity of the colony's being in debt to the mother country, can by no means cancel the obligation every private man is under to fulfil his engagements. Though evil may be the effect, frequently even the cause of good, yet the man who commits it cannot on that account be justified or excused. It is a matter of indifference, whether a certain mass of wealth is in such or such hands; but it can never be conducive to the public welfare that any man should think himself at liberty not to pay his debts. The treasury itself, if it is under any engagements, must clear itself by the means and rules of justice. A public bankruptcy of the state is a scandalous thing. Still more prejudicial to the morals of society than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all these iniquities shall be summoned before the tribunal of nations, and that the power which has committed them shall be judged by its victims. The debts of America, therefore, ought to be paid, but it must be done imperceptibly, and not by sudden or violent measures. Whilst

B O O K the old debts are paying off, new ones will be contracted;
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which will perpetuate as it were that chain of dependance that links the fortunes of Europe with those of the colonies. It is by judicial means that the creditors of the trade of the islands are to be satisfied. True justice is ever uniform in itself; its favours and punishments are equally shewn to all. If the execution of it is committed to the arbitrary will of those who govern, as it has hitherto been in the colonies, it necessarily degenerates into tyranny. It is oftentimes a hardship upon debtors, who are compelled to fail in the most sacred engagements, in order to fulfil the most trifling, and to sacrifice part of their income, and sometimes of their stock, by sales made at an improper season, and without any of the proper forms. It is often unjust for the creditors themselves. It is neither the oldest, nor he that has most right, nor yet he that wants it most, who is first paid: it is the most powerful, the best patronized, the most active, the most violent; whereas the law only ought to decide.

THAT law which, in the colonies, allows of the actual seizure of the plantations, is impracticable. A proof of it, is, that no man has ever yet had recourse to it, though there have always been dishonest debtors in the islands, and clamorous creditors, who would not have neglected this mode of recovery if it could have been pursued with success.

THE method of personal seizure, which some have proposed to substitute to the seizure of goods and chattels, would not be more effectual. It would be no easy matter to arrest a planter surrounded with a multitude of slaves, upon a plantation standing by itself. His imprisonment would prove as ruinous to his creditors as to himself. His negroes would grow riotous in his absence; they would do no work, but would go and plunder the
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neighbouring plantations. But might not the negroes of BOOK
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a debtor be seized and sold? Then the slaves who should
cease to work upon one plantation would be employed
upon another, and the colony be no loser.

THIS expedient is only a specious one, and we must know but little of the character of the negroes, to trust to it. They are kind of machines, not easily wound up, and not to be removed with safety to a fresh manufacture. A change of place, of master, of method, of employment, requires the contracting of fresh habits, and such an exertion as these miserable creatures are hardly capable of, who are already miserable under the necessity of hard labour, which ill suits their voluptuous disposition. They cannot live without their mistresses and their children, which are their dearest comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only solace to their woes, they pine away and sicken, and frequently desert, or at least they work but with reluctance and carelessness.

BESIDES it would be no easy matter to seize upon those blacks. Fifty, a hundred, or two hundred slaves would not tamely suffer themselves to be thrown in chains by a few bailiffs; and they would soon disperse, if any attempt should be made to enter the plantation by force. If one should endeavour to seize them in the towns where they go to sell their goods, they would soon keep away, and a scarcity of provisions would be the consequence of almost universal desertion.

SUPPOSE all these difficulties could be removed, this expedient would still be improper, because in securing the payment of one creditor, it would ruin many others. The smallest sugar plantations employ sixty or seventy slaves upon the best lands, and fourscore or a hundred where the ground is but indifferent. The number can-

BOOK not be lessened without putting a stop to the tillage. The-
 XIII. seizing of fifteen or twelve blacks, is enough to ruin a plantation, and to destroy an important culture, to make a capital of fifty or hundred thousand crowns (r) lie dead, and a skillful planter quite insolvent. It will be said; perhaps, that the owner being forced to sell, the purchaser would reinstate the plantation; but it is well known that there are no such monied men on the islands as to pay ready money; that all purchases are made upon a very long credit, and even with a tacit expectation of obtaining further delays. Take away this credit, and there will not be a single purchaser to be found.

No planters surely would be so rash as to venture upon a considerable undertaking, with a prospect of certain ruin, in case fortune and the elements should not favour his endeavours, so as to make good his engagements to a day. The dread of want and infamy will become general, and then there will be no more borrowing, no more business, no more circulation, no more activity. Credit will be destroyed by the very system that was meant to restore it. These are no imaginary fears; they are but too well justified by the deplorable events of the year 1750. At that memorable and unfortunate period for St. Domingo, a permission was extorted from the government to seize the negroes for the planter's debts. The first executions of this kind, though unsuccessful, spread terror and consternation throughout the colony. The confusion was inconceivable, and all was tending to ruin. The merchants who had solicited this odious law, thought themselves very happy that they could obtain the repeal of it.

No expedient therefore has been found out for the security of creditors, but what is prejudicial to the prosperity.

(r) From about 7000*l.* to upwards of 13,000*l.*

perity of the colonies, and consequently to that of the monarchy. Yet the secret springs of politics must certainly afford some means to reconcile the interests of individuals with those of the public, and it is the business of statesmen to find them out. This law of equity will be approved, even by those who are sufferers from it, if it is introduced by reasonable methods, the only ones, perhaps, that should be employed with civilized men, at least the easiest and the safest. A planter acquainted with the course of public business, will be sensible that the facility of not paying becomes burdensome to him from the impossibility of finding credit, but upon such terms as will balance the risk of lending. Whether he seeks it to increase or to preserve his stock, he will obtain none but to his ruin. His situation is the same as that of minors, who can never borrow but upon hard terms of usurers accustomed to indemnify themselves beforehand for the delays and for the hazards they run.

BUT if the planter is not to be brought to a sense of his duty by motives of interest; if it is dangerous to have recourse to compulsive methods, why should not the legislature try what may be done upon the principle of honour, which is a most powerful motive in monarchies, as it is the ground-work and spring of their constitution. Is not opinion as coercive as force? Stamp but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, declare that he has forfeited all the distinctions he enjoyed, render him incapable of ever exercising any public function, and we need not apprehend that he will sport with a law of this sort. But then the tribunals of justice must in this respect be those of honour. Let the defaulter be tried and condemned with the several forms which make all other laws sacred. The most rapacious of men, and especially the American planters, sacrifice a part of their
lives

BOOK lives to hard labour, with no other view, than to enjoy
 XIII. their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Observe only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an excess of delicacy, it is not the love of justice, that brings back the ruined gamester within four and twenty hours to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a sharper. It is the sense of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from society. The most interested man aims at enjoyment, and none can be obtained without honour.

BUT in what age, at what period, do we here invoke the sacred name of honour? Should not the government set the example of that justice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it possible that public opinion should disgrace individuals for actions which the state openly commits? When infamy has crept into families, into great houses, into the highest places, even into the camp and the sanctuary; can there be any sense of shame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his honour, while those who are called men of honour, know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man must cringe in order to rise; please the great and the women to serve the state; and when the gifts of pleasing imply at least an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which seems to be banished from some parts of Europe, go and take refuge in America? Why should this be despaired of, before it has been tried? If the experiment should not answer, the debtors who should refuse to pay their debts, should be treated in the French islands, as they are in those that are subject to England and Holland. The three nations have alike concentrated the connections of their American settlements in the mother country.

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ALL the colonies have not had the same origin. Some ^{BOOK} took their rise from the restless spirit of some tribes of ^{XIII.} barbarians, who having long wandered through desert ^{Has the} countries, fixed at last, from mere weariness, in any ^{mother-} country where they might form a nation. Other people ^{country, in} driven out of their own territory by some powerful ^{compelling} enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than ^{the islands} their own, have removed thither, and shared the lands ^{to deliver} with the natives. An excess of population, an abhor- ^{duce only} rence for tyranny, factions and revolutions have induced ^{to herself,} other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and ^{sufficiently} build new cities in foreign climes. The spirit of con- ^{secured the} quest made some soldiers settle in the countries they had ^{exportati-} subdued, to secure the property of them to themselves. ^{on of them?} None of these colonies were first formed with a view to trade. Even those that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marseilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for necessary retreats upon barbarous coasts, and for marts, where ships that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

THE conquest of America gave the Europeans the first idea of a new kind of settlement, the basis of which is agriculture. The governments that founded those colonies, chose that such of their subjects as they sent thither should not have it in their power to consume any thing but what they drew from the mother country, or to sell the produce of their lands but to the mother country. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be consonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and self-evident. They have not looked upon an exclusive intercourse with their own colonies as an immoderate compensation for the expences of settling and
pre-

BOOK preserving them. This has constantly been the system of
XIII. Europe relative to America.

FRANCE had never yet departed from it; when a man of genius, noted for the extent of his ideas, and the energy of his expressions, attempted to mitigate the severity of this principle. He alledged that to allow the importation of such foreign goods as cannot easily be had from France, and at an extravagant price, was increasing a prosperity in the colonies, which must sooner or later flow back to the original country, to which they will send more commodities, and afford a brisker sale for their own produce. This opinion spread a universal alarm in all the ports of the kingdom. They exclaimed that this competition was an infringement of the most sacred rights of the state, and would dry up the principal sources of its wealth.

THIS circumstance has been the subject of much altercation; but it has not been considered in its most important light. The disputants, and the public by whom they were judged, only attending to the interests of culture and commerce, lost sight of the grand political object, which is the preservation of the colonies. The truth is, that we should run the risque of losing them, if foreign ships were admitted into their harbours.

ABOVE a century ago, England laid the foundations of an immense empire in the vast wilds of North America, which went on but slowly at first, but now makes a daily rapid progress. Its power, long curbed by an enemy ever upon the watch, and ever ready to attack its back settlements, has nothing now that can restrain it, since the acquisition of Canada and of the most valuable part of Louisiana. This people, delivered by these conquests from all uneasiness on the side of the continent, may one time or other be tempted to turn their ambitious view towards

wards the neighbouring islands. Even now, they want nothing to pursue the stream of their prosperities, but a population adequate to the extent of their territory. Amongst the causes which may promote this population, none would be more likely to hasten it, than a standing intercourse with the French colonies, which being in want of the very articles that North America affords, would, by purchasing their productions, enable them to raise more, and to augment their strength. No doubt the court of Versailles is too well informed to sacrifice the safety of the islands to the accessory advantage that might accrue from a free trade for a few trifling objects.

BUT if on the one hand it is incumbent on us to cut off from our rivals this road to wealth, and of course to conquest, on the other hand it is necessary to take care that our islanders shall never want a market to dispose of all their commodities. The colonies can spare us yearly, besides what they keep for their own consumption, a hundred thousand casks of molasses and rum, worth about five millions of livres.⁽¹⁾ By an ill-judged selfishness, we have deprived them and ourselves of this benefit, for fear of hurting the sale of our own brandies. The spirits drawn from sugar, always inferior to those extracted from wine, can only be for the use of poor nations, or of the lower sort in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt spirits, and these are not distilled in France. There will always be a demand for ours, even in the islands, for the use of that class of men who can afford to pay for them. The government, therefore, can never too soon retract so unjust and so fatal an error, and ought to admit molasses and rum into our ports, to be consumed there, or wherever else they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their consumption than to authorize French navigators to carry them

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(1) 218,750.

BOOK directly to the foreign markets. This favour ought even
XIII. to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As
 an opinion that clashes with so many interests and so many
 prejudices, may chance to be contested, it will be proper
 to unfold its principles.

THE French islands furnish the mother-country with
 sugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities,
 that are partly consumed at home, and partly disposed of
 in foreign countries, which send us in exchange either
 money, or other articles we are in want of. These same
 islands receive in return from the mother-country cloaths,
 provisions, and instruments of husbandry. Such is the
 twofold destination of the colonies. In order to fulfill
 it, they must be rich. In order to be rich, they must
 grow large crops, and be able to dispose of them at the
 best price: and that they may fetch the best price, the
 sale of them must be as brisk as possible. To obtain
 this, it must be made entirely free. In order to make
 it as free as possible, it must be clogged with no
 formalities, no expences, no labours no needless incum-
 brances. These truths, demonstrated by their close con-
 nection with each other, must determine whether it is
 advantageous that the trade of the colonies should be
 subjected to the delays and expences of a staple in
 France.

THESE intermediate expences must necessarily fall,
 either upon the consumer or upon the planter. If upon
 the former, he will consume less, because his means do
 not increase in proportion to his expences; if upon the
 latter, as his produce brings in less, he will be less able
 to make the necessary advances for the next crop, and of
 course his lands will yield less. The evident progress
 of these destructive consequences is so little attended to,
 that every day we hear people confidently say, that mer-
 chandise,

chandise, before it is consumed, must pass through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage, and that as these charges employ and maintain a number of persons, they are conducive to the population and strength of a state. Men are so blinded by prejudice, as not to see that if it is advantageous that commodities, before they are consumed, should undergo a twofold expence; this advantage will still be increased, to the greater emolument of the nation, if this expence should amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in these works, in order to add to the expences that precede the consumption of the produce. Yet such are the absurdities we must maintain, if we admit the false principle we are now opposing; but political truths must be long canvassed before they are felt. Many errors have been introduced among statesmen, as well as among the bulk of the people, without examination. The French ministry, long blinded by that darkness in which they suffered their nation to remain, had not yet acquired a sufficient degree of knowledge to discover what kind of administration was fittest for the colonies; and they are still equally ignorant of the form of government best calculated to make them prosper.

THE French colonies, settled by profligate men, who fled from the restraints or punishment of the law, seemed at first to stand in need of nothing but a strict police; they were therefore committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The spirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more especially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women a universal ascendent, has at

Is the authority in the French islands committed to those hands that are most proper to make them flourish?

all

BOOK all times filled the higher posts in America with worthless
XIII. men, loaded with debts and vices. The ministry, from some
 consciousness of shame, and the fear of raising them where
 their disgrace was known, have sent them beyond sea, to
 improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were
 ignorant of their misconduct. An ill-judged compassion,
 and that false court maxim, that villainy is necessary,
 and villains are useful, made them coolly sacrifice the
 peace of the planters, the safety of the colonies, and the
 very interests of the state, to a set of wretches only fit
 to be imprisoned. These rapacious and dissolute men
 stifled the seeds of all that was good and laudable, and
 checked the progress of that prosperity which was rising
 spontaneously.

ARBITRARY power carries along with it so subtle a
 poison, that even those men who went over with honest
 intentions, were soon corrupted. If ambition, avarice
 and pride had not begun to spoil them, they would not
 have been proof against flattery, which never fails to
 raise its meanness upon general slavery, and to advance
 its own fortune by public calamity.

THE few governors who escaped corruption, meeting
 with no support in an unlimited administration, were
 continually falling from one mistake into another. They
 are not men, but the laws, that are to govern men. If the
 rulers are deprived of this common rule, this standard of
 their judgments, all right, all safety, and all civil liberty
 will be extinct. Nothing will then be seen but contra-
 dictory decisions, transient and opposite regulations, and
 orders, which for want of fundamental maxims will have
 no connection with each other. If the code of laws was
 cancelled, even in the best constituted empire, it would
 soon appear that uprightness alone was not sufficient to
 govern it well. The wisest men would be inadequate to
 such

such a task. As they would not all be of the same mind, and as each of them would not always be in the same disposition, the state would soon be overturned. This kind of confusion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more so, as the governors made but a short stay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to make any arrangements. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, these rulers were replaced by others, who in as short a space, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that justice which, when tempered with mildness, can alone secure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, so much intimidated one of these absolute magistrates, that out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but what he was aware of the inconveniences of his irresolution, but, though an able man, he did not think himself qualified to be a legislator, and therefore did not chuse to usurp the authority of one.

YET these disorders might easily have been prevented, by substituting an equitable legislation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itself, and fit only for critical and perilous times. But this scheme, which has often been proposed, was disliked by the governors jealous of absolute power, which, formidable in itself, is always odious in a subject. These slaves, escaped from the secret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of justice which prevails in Asiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by some virtuous governors, who did not consider, that by reserving to themselves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their successors to

BOOK do ill with impunity. All declared loudly against a
 XIII. plan of legislation that tended to lessen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their insinuation and advice, from a propensity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their ministers. They thought they provided sufficiently for their colonies by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

THESE distant settlements, which till then had groined under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their division and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people, sowed discord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their dissensions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had its protectors, who were animated by pride or interest to support them in their places. When they agreed, either because their good or bad intentions happened to be the same, or because the one had got an entire ascendancy over the other, the colonists were in a worse condition than ever. Whatever oppression these victims laboured under, their cries were never heard in the mother-country, who looked upon the harmony that subsisted between their delegates, as the most certain proof of a faultless administration.

THE fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, besides having the disposal of the regular troops, have a right to insist the inhabitants, to order them to what works they think proper, to employ them as they please in time of war, and even to make use of them for conquest. Intrusted with absolute authority, and desirous of exerting all the powers that can establish or extend it, they take upon themselves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is summoned, thrown into prison or
 into

into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other form; and this is what they call the service or the military department. The intendants have the sole management and disposal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all causes, both civil and criminal, whether justice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the superior tribunals; and this is what they call administration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and judge of all differences that arise respecting old possessions. This arrangement puts the fortunes of all the colonists into their hands, or into those of their clerks and dependents, and consequently makes all property precarious, and occasions the utmost confusion.

In mechanics, the further the resisting powers are removed from the center, the more the moving force must be increased; in like manner, we are told, the colonies can not be secured any otherwise than by a harsh and absolute government. If so, Sir William Petty was in the right to disapprove of these sort of settlements. The earth had better remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that some powers should be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to oppose this system of an Englishman against colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened spirit which distinguishes the present age, and which still supports and guides us, will one day restore the government to a sense of its true interests. We shall be made sensible that there has been no justice in our colonies, because they had no fixed laws, the maintenance of which was intrusted to proper tribunals. If this set of men, always

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enslaved, always oppressed, have not hitherto been thought to deserve this mark of our confidence, let us make them worthy of it by granting it. Their souls will be inflamed with the sacred enthusiasm of public spirit, when once they can devote themselves to it without fear or anxiety. This truly patriotic zeal will kindle of itself, if these judicial bodies are composed of magistrates born in the colonies.

Nothing appears to be more consonant to the ends of sound policy, than to allow these islanders the right of governing themselves, provided it be in subordination to the mother country; nearly in the same manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ship it is fastened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in those remote islands, being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthless men; and that it will be long before we can expect to see those manners and that sagacity among them, which will be productive of public spirit, and of that dignity which is requisite to support the weight of business and the interests of a nation. This objection might have some foundation if we attended merely to the character of those Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who by thus transporting themselves either by choice or from other motives, are strangers every where; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill supplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taste for dominion, which results from the abuse of slavery; and by the dazzling lustre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obscurity. But this class of men ought to have no share in the administration, which should be wholly committed to proprietors, mostly born in the colonies; for justice is the natural consequence of property, and none are more interested in the good govern-
ment

ment of a country, than those who are entitled by their birth to the largest possessions in it. These creoles, who have naturally a great share of penetration, a frankness of temper; an elevation of soul, and a certain love of justice that arises from these noble dispositions, would be so sensible to the marks of esteem and confidence which would be shewn them by the mother country by intrusting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile soil, take a pride in decorating it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized society. Instead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her ministers, and upbraids them with their harshness, we should see in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindness always inspires to children. Instead of that secret eagerness with which, in time of war, they run to meet a foreign yoke, we should see them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulse an invasion. Fear will restrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and terrible master, but affection alone can command them at a distance. This is, perhaps, the only spring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extensive kingdom, whilst the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the sovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged, or too much extended; but if it is neither merited nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. Then there will be no more joy in our public festivals, no transports in our rejoicings, no involuntary acclamations at the sight of the beloved idol. Curiosity will bring a throng wherever there is a show; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A sullen discontent will arise, and spread from one province to another, and from the mother-country to the colonies. When all our fortunes are injured or threatened at once, the alarm and

BOOK XIII. the commotion becomes general. Repeated strokes of authority, hurried on by the hand that ventures to exert them, wound every heart, and fall successively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and supporters of the rights of the colonists, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the prisons of Europe. Our arms, which seemed to be blunted before the enemy, are sharpened against these valuable subjects of the state. Even those who were not able to defend them during the war, are employed to spread terror among them in time of peace. Is it thus that colonies are preserved, and their prosperity promoted? Rome learnt of her enemies how to conquer the old world; let France now learn of her rival how to people and cultivate the new.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

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BOOK XIV.

Settlement of the English in the American islands.

ENGLAND was not in a very brilliant situation when her settlements in America were first begun 1625. Her agriculture produced neither flax nor hemp. The attempts they had made to raise mulberry trees and breed silkworms had been unsuccessful. The labours of the field were wholly turned to the growing of corn, which, notwithstanding the turn of the nation for husbandry, was seldom sufficient for home consumption, and many of their granaries were stored from the fields bordering on the Baltic.

Workmanship was still less advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. These had been increased since the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited, but these islanders, who seemed to work only for themselves, did not know how to set off their stuffs with that taste and elegance that was necessary to make them saleable. They sent their cloths over to Holland, where the Dutch gave them their last colouring and gloss; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and sometimes returned to England.

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NAVIGATION hardly employed at that time ten thousand sailors. These were in the service of exclusive companies, which had engrossed every branch of trade, not excepting that of cloth, which alone constituted a tenth part of the commercial wealth of the nation. The wool-len-drapery trade therefore was centered in the hands of three or four hundred persons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of these monopolizers was exercised in the capital, where the court sold the provinces. London alone had six times as many ships as all the other ports in the kingdom put together.

THE public revenue neither was nor could be very considerable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has always been practised in commonwealths, but only continued under arbitrary governments. The expences were proportionable to the low state of the treasury. The fleet was small, and the ships so weak, that in time of need, the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and sixty thousand militia, which was the whole military force of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no standing forces in time of peace, and the king himself had no guards.

WITH such confined powers at home, the nation should not have ventured to extend itself in settlements abroad. Notwithstanding this, some colonies were established which laid a solid foundation of prosperity. The origin of these settlements was owing to certain events, the causes of which may be traced very far back.

Causes
which hastened the
population
of the British
islands.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the rise and progress of the English government, knows that the regal authority was long balanced by a few extensive proprietors of land called Barons. They perpetually oppressed the people, who

who generally were become mean and contemptible by slavery. They were constantly at variance with the crown, with more or less success, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumstances. These political quarrels occasioned much bloodshed.

THE kingdom was exhausted by intestine wars, which had lasted two hundred years, when Henry VIII. took up the reins of government on the decision of a battle, in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give themselves a master. That skilful prince took advantage of the depression into which a series of calamities had sunk his subjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of feudal government though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was assisted in this undertaking, by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakest, could not hope to maintain themselves in the principal employments he had raised them to, but by supporting the ambition of their leader. This plan was strengthened by permitting the nobility for the first time to alienate their lands. This dangerous favour, joined to a taste for luxury which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immense fiefs of the barons were gradually squandered away, and the estates of the commoners increased.

THE rights belonging to the several estates being divided with the property of the lands, it was so much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many, against the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, so favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with

BOOK with all their losses. The commons thought themselves
 XIV. sufficiently honoured by the privilege of imposing all the national taxes. The people, in some degree eased of their yoke by this slight alteration in the constitution, and whose circle of ideas is always confined to business or labour, became tired of seditions, from the desolation and miseries which were the consequence and the punishment of them. So that when the nation were looking out for that absolute power, which was lost in the confusion of civil wars, their views were turned to the monarch alone. Dazzled with the splendor of a throne, they mistook that for the source, which should only be the visible sign and lasting instrument of authority.

SUCH was the situation of England, when James I. was called thither from Scotland, as being sole heir to the two kingdoms, which by his accession were united under one head. A restless nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vassals, had kindled the fire of sedition in those northern mountains, which divided the island into two distinct states. The monarch had from his earliest years been as averse from limited authority, as the people were from despotism and absolute monarchy. Absolute monarchy then prevailed all over Europe, and as he was equal to other sovereigns, it was natural that he should be ambitious of the same power. His predecessors had enjoyed it even in England for a century past. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favorable junctures. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that strength of reason, wisdom and counsel, was centered in himself, and seemed to arrogate to himself that infallibility of which the pope had been stripped by the reformation, whose tenets he adopted though he disliked them. These false principles,

ples, which tended to change government into a mystery of religion, the more dangerous, as it bore at once upon our opinions, wills and actions, were so rooted in his mind together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not so much as think of supporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the general disposition of the people than this system. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The birth of America had hastened the maturity of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The intercourse of nations would soon begin to remove prejudices, and open the door to industry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and hastening to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taste, and the sciences that solidity which springs from a spirit of calculation and commerce. Politics enlarged the sphere of its views. This universal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The several bodies which formed this monstrous colossus of gothic government soon began to move on every side, to awake out of the lethargy of ignorance in which they had slept for many ages, and to form enterprizes. On the continent, where mercenary troops had been raised under pretence of maintaining discipline, most princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppressing their subjects by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, so natural to every thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, awakened in the enlightened minds of those who were conversant with the great writers of antiquity, who derived from their democratic government that sublimity of reason and sentiment by which they are distinguished; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breast the utmost abhorrence

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horrence for unlimited authority. The ascendent which Elizabeth found means to gain and to support by an uninterrupted prosperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterprizes that were beneficial to the state. But no sooner did another branch ascend the throne, and the sceptre fall into the hands of a monarch who, by the very violence of his pretensions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation asserted her rights, and aimed at governing herself.

It was at this period that warm disputes broke out between the court and parliament. Both powers seemed to be making trial of their strength by continual opposition. The prince pretended that an entire passive obedience was due to him; and that national assemblies were only ornamental to, not the basis of the constitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed against these principles, always weak when they come to be discussed; and maintained that the people as much constituted the essence of government, if not more than the monarch. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now the form may and must change, for the preservation of the matter. The supreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end, and society subsist, without either monarch or throne. In this manner the English reasoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they opposed and threatened each other. James finished his course in the midst of these debates, leaving his son to discuss his rights, with the resolution of extending them.

THE experience of all ages has shewn that tranquillity which arises from absolute power, breeds a coolness in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into a universal lethargy. On the contrary, the motions of a constitution

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Inclining to liberty are irregular and rapid ; it is a con-
 tinued fever, sometimes higher, sometimes lower, but al-
 ways convulsive. BOOK
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ENGLAND experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. who, though not so great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The division, which had begun between the king and the parliament, became general. The highest class of the nobility, and the second, which was the richest, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the side of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed lustre which they return him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they still possessed most of the great estates, they engaged almost all the country people in their party ; who naturally love the king, because they think he must love them. London, and all the great towns, inspired by municipal government with the republican spirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who valuing themselves as much as the merchants in Holland, aspired to the freedom of that democracy.

THESE divisions brought on the sharpest, the most bloody, and the most stubborn civil war ever recorded in history. Never did the English spirit shew itself in so dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited fresh scenes of violence, which seemed to have been already carried to the highest excess, and these again were outdone by others, still more atrocious. It seemed as if the nation was just upon the brink of destruction, and that every Briton had sworn to bury himself under the ruins of his country.

In this general tumult, the most moderate sought for a peaceable retreat in the American islands, which the English had lately seized upon. The tranquillity they found By what
men the
British is-
lands were
peopled.

BOOK found there, induced others to follow them. Whilst the
XIV. sedition was spreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. Soon after, the royalists, who were oppressed by the republican party, which had prevailed at last, went and joined the patriots, who had fled from faction.

BOTH these were followed by those restless and spirited men, whose strong passions inspire them with great desires and vast projects; who despise dangers, hazards and fatigues, and wish to see no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally ready to overturn or serve their country, to lay it waste or to enrich it.

THE islands were also the refuge of such as had been unfortunate in trade, or had been reduced by merciless creditors to a state of indigence and idleness. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their prosperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the highest respect in those very places from whence they had been banished with ignominy and contempt.

THIS resource was still more necessary for young people, who in the first transports of youth, had been drawn into excesses of debauchery and licentiousness. If they had not quitted their country, shame and disgrace, which never fail to depress the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public esteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a lesson of wisdom, and where they had no occasion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impressions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they rested with safety. Their industry made amends for their past follies, and men who
 had

had left Europe like vagabonds, and who disgraced it, re-
turned honest men, and useful members of society.

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ALL these several colonists had at their disposal for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the most profligate set of men of the three kingdoms, who had deserved death for capital crimes; but who from motives of humanity and good policy, were suffered to live and to work for the benefit of the state. These malefactors, who were transported for a term of years, which they were to spend in slavery, became industrious and reformed in their manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. Some of these there were, who when restored to society by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the best plantations: a proof how much it is for the interest of a civilized society to admit this lenity in the penal laws, so conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of sensibility, and of turning from evil to good.

In the mean time the English were too much taken up ^{Under} with their own dissensions at home, to think of giving ^{what form} laws to the islands under their dominion, and the colo- ^{of govern-} nists were not sufficiently enlightened to draw up such a ^{ment the} system of legislation as was fit for an infant society. ^{British is-} ^{lands were} ^{established.}

Whilst the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, just emerging from a state of infancy, formed their own constitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of these separate settlements, a chief represents the king, a council the peers, and the deputies of the several districts, the commons. The general assembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the administration. The executive part belongs to the governor, who also occasionally determines upon causes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council and by the majority of votes. Though the

BOOK the members of this body are beholden to him for their
XIV. rank, they will not suffer him to bribe their votes, for
 fear of exposing themselves to the resentment of the general assembly, which has the sole power of removing them.

GREAT-BRITAIN, to reconcile her own interests with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws should be enacted there which were inconsistent with her own. The governors she sends thither, to command in her name, swear before they go, that they will not suffer the least infringement of this fundamental maxim. This oath must prevent the commanders from betraying the mother-country to favour the islands, which, as they are to pay the governor's salary, might otherwise make his compliance the measure of their liberality.

ON the other hand, this kind of dependence checks the governor's pride, and prevents him from becoming tyrannical. The commissioners for the plantations have frequently in parliament attacked a prerogative that has restrained their authority. Regardless of the inconveniences that might attend it, the parliament has always adhered to this wise regulation. Justly dreading that spirit of rapaciousness which induces men to cross the seas, they have subjected the placemen who should violate the laws of the colonies, to the same penalties as are inflicted in England on those who trespass upon national liberty.

THESE precautions were not thought sufficient for the safety of the colonists, whom the nation cherishes and protects as her children's children. Every colony has one or more deputies in the mother-country. Their important functions are, to prevent the abuse of power in the governors; to solicit the legislative body for the improvement and defence of the settlements, whose rights
 and

and wants they represent ; and to combine the particular interest of the trade of the colonies with the general welfare of the nation. These agents do the same thing at London as the representatives of the people do in parliament. They plead the cause of those distant provinces. Unhappy will it be for the state if ever they should turn a deaf ear to the cries of the representatives, whoever they are. The counties in England would rise ; the colonies would shake off their allegiance in America ; the treasures of both worlds would be lost to an island which nature has made sovereign of the sea.

UNDER what milder and wiser government could Englishmen live, who from the American islands are linked with their own country by the ties of blood and by those of necessity ? And indeed the colonists established upon these foreign shores are constantly looking up to their mother country, who is ever attentive to their preservation. One might say that, as the eagle who never loses sight of the nest where she fosters her young, London seems to look down upon her colonies, and to see them grow up and thrive under her tender care. Her numberless vessels, covering an extent of two thousand leagues, with their proud sails, form as it were a bridge over the ocean, and carry on an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what they have once established, she preserves her possessions abroad without a standing army, which is always an oppressive and ruinous burden. Two very small corps fixed at Antigua and Jamaica are sufficient for a nation that can at any time transport troops wherever they may be wanted.

By these beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and sound policy, the English islands soon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to to-

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baco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterprising colonists fetched sugar canes from Brazil, and they multiplied prodigiously, but to no great purpose. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it such indifferent sugar, that it would not sell in Europe, or sold at the lowest price. A series of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make use of the treasure they had carried off; and the Portuguese, who till then had engrossed all the sugar trade, found in 1650 in an ally, whose industry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to supplant them.

ALL this while the mother country had but a very small share in the prosperity of her colonies. They sent their own commodities directly to all parts of the world, where they thought they would sell best, and indiscriminately admitted ships of all nations into their ports. This unlimited freedom must of course throw almost all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in consequence of the low interest their money bears, the largeness of their stock, the number of their ships, and the reasonableness of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the best terms, to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate. These people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a superior army, which, being ever master of the field, is free in all its operations. They soon seized upon the profits of so many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ships were seen in the British islands to one English vessel.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil during the disturbances of the civil wars; but as soon as these troubles were composed, and the state restored to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions, they began to look abroad. They perceived that those subjects,
who

who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be lost to the state, if foreigners were suffered to devour the fruits of their industry. The discussion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ships from entering the harbours of the English islands, and consequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of such an exclusion, was not alarmed at it, but considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

It was happy however for England that this restraining law could not then be enforced in its utmost rigour. A kind of negligence in the execution of it allowed time for the colonies to increase their sugar plantations, by the ready sale they found for their sugars, which enabled them to vie with the Portuguese, and insensibly to rise upon their ruins. These plantations made such rapid progress in the space of nine years, that in 1660, when it was judged that the law might safely be put in execution in its utmost strictness, the English were already masters of the sugar trade all over Europe, except in the Mediterranean, which had continued faithful to their competitors, on account of the charges of re-exportation, occasioned by the navigation act. It is true, in order to attain this superiority, they had been obliged greatly to undersell their neighbours; but their plentiful crops made them full amends for this necessary sacrifice. If it happened that other nations were encouraged by their success to raise plantations, at least for their own consumption, the English opened other markets which supplied the place of the former. The only mischance they met with, in a long series of years, was the seeing many of their

BOOK cargoes taken by French privateers, and sold for a trifle.

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The planter sustained by this a double inconvenience, that of losing part of his sugars, and being obliged to sell the remainder for less than it was worth.

In what manner the prosperity of the British islands diminished.

NOTWITHSTANDING these transient piracies, which always ceased in time of peace, the plantations still continued to prosper in the English islands. It appears from entries which are said to be exact, that about the year 1680, they sent annually to Europe but 30,000 hogsheads of sugar, each containing twelve hundred weight. Their exports from 1708 to 1718 were of 53,439 annually; from 1718 to 1727 they rose to 68,931, and the six following years to 93,889. But from 1733 to 1737 they fell to 75,695, and the following years they stood at 70,000 hogsheads.

If we enquire into the cause of this diminution, we shall find it was owing to France. This kingdom, which from its situation, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, should be foremost in every undertaking, is so fettered by the nature of its government, that it is the last acquainted with its own advantages and interests. The French first got their sugars from the English, and afterwards their informations. They made some at first for their own consumption, and began exporting it in 1716. The superiority of their soil, the advantage of fresh lands, the frugality of their planters who were yet poor, all conspired to enable them to undersell their competitors. This greatest of all advantages in trade, obtained them the preference in all the markets. As their produce increased, that of their rivals was rejected because it was dearer. The decay was so rapid, that a nation which had supplied all Europe with sugars, and still sold 19,202 hogsheads to foreigners in 1719, sold no more than

than 7,715 in 1733, 5,211 in 1737, and none at all in 1740. BOOK
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THE English islands had begun to complain long before this revolution was completed. They had applied to parliament from the year 1731 to engage them to prevent the ruin of a trade that was already lost. Their petitions were at first disregarded. Most people were of opinion that the lands in the colonies were exhausted, and the parliament had adopted this prejudice, not considering that though the soil was not altogether so luxuriant as fresh grounds, yet it still retained that degree of fertility which it seldom loses by constant tillage, unless it is capitally injured by some accidental calamity. But when it was made evident from estimates laid before the house, that the last crops had been greater than the former, the parliament began to think of ways and means to restore this source of public fortune.

THE political œconomy of commerce consists in selling cheaper than ones rivals. This the English islands were able to do, before the mother country, in 1663, had appropriated to herself a duty of four and a half per cent. upon all sugars brought from Barbadoes, which was soon extended to those of the other settlements. The great plenty of the commodity however prevented their sinking immediately under this burden. But the necessities of the colonies having since compelled them to overload themselves with fresh taxes, they were no longer able to withstand a competition which grew every day more formidable, and they insensibly saw themselves supplanted in all parts. Possibly they might have been rescued from this sad situation, by suppressing the duty of four and a half per cent. and by sacrificing to their local administration the enormous duties their commodities pay on their entry into Great Britain; but her great expences

BOOK and her heavy national debt would not certainly admit of
XIV.

this generosity, and the government thought they did enough for the colonies in allowing them, as they did in 1739, to send their sugars directly to all the ports of Europe. This concession, which was contrary to the navigation act, proved ineffectual. The French maintained their superiority in all the markets, and the English colonies were reduced to supply sugars merely for the consumption of the British dominions, which did not exceed 12,000 hogheads at the beginning of the century, and in 1755 amounted to 70,000.

Settlement
of the Eng-
lish at Bar-
badoes.

ENGLAND was beholden for this produce to their ancient possessions in the West Indies. The island of Barbadoes, which is situated to windward of all the others, appeared to have never been inhabited, not even by savages, when some Englishmen from St. Christopher's went and settled there in 1629. They found it covered with such large and hard trees, that it required uncommon resolution and patience to fell them and root them up. The ground was soon cleared of this incumbrance, or stripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her own work better than the hand of man, who alters every thing for himself alone. Some patriots, tired of seeing the blood of their countrymen spilt, went and peopled this foreign land. Whilst the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by those vagabonds who had been driven from home by poverty or licentiousness, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their stock of money, but a taste for labour, courage, activity, ambition, those vices and virtues which are the fruits of civil wars.

By these means, an island, which is no more than eight leagues long and four broad, attained to a population
of

of a hundred thousand souls, and a trade that employed BOOK
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four hundred ships of 150 tons burthen each. Such was the state of its prosperity in 1676, the period of its utmost greatness. Never had the earth beheld such a number of planters collected in so small a compass, or so many rich productions raised in so short a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by slaves bought in Africa, or even stolen in America. This unwarrantable method of procuring them was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and was near overturning it.

SOME Englishmen, who had landed on the coasts of the continent to get slaves, were discovered by the Caribs, who were the object of their search. These savages fell upon them, and put them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long pursued, ran into a wood, where an Indian woman meeting him, saved his life, concealed and fed him, and some time after, conducted him to the sea-side. His companions were laying at anchor there, waiting for the men they missed, and sent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer insisted on following him on board the ship. They were no sooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monster told her who had saved his life, and had bestowed her heart as well as her person upon him. To vindicate the honour of the English nation, one of her poets has recorded this shocking instance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by posterity; it has been told in several languages, and held out to the detestation of all foreign nations.

THE Indians, who dared not undertake to revenge themselves, imparted their resentment to the negroes, who had stronger motives, if possible, for hating the English. The slaves, with one accord, vowed the death of their tyrants. This conspiracy was carried on with such se-

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crefy, that the very day before it was to have been executed, the colony had not the least suspicion of it. But, as if generosity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his master of it. Letters were immediately dispatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending mischief. The following night, the slaves were seized in their huts; the most guilty were executed by break of day; and this act of severity reduced the rest to obedience.

THEY have never revolted since, and yet the exportations are not half of what they were. This revolution has been brought on by the extravagance of the inhabitants; by contagious distempers; by hurricanes; by the emigration of many who are gone over to other islands, or to the continent of North-America; by the waste of the land, and the necessity of manuring it; and lastly, by the competition of a rival nation, which has been so fortunate as to meet with a better soil.

AT this present time there are at Barbadoes but 30,000 slaves, who are employed in manuring the ground with varech, a sea weed which the tide throws on shore. It is in this varech that the sugar-canes are planted. The earth has little more to do with the growing of them, than the tubs in which we plant orange-trees in Europe. The whole produce of this laborious process is no more than 15,000 hogsheads of raw sugar. They are conveyed to England, where they are sold for about 6,750,000 livres. (t) The spirits, which may amount to 800,000 livres, (u) are all sent to North-America.

BARBADOES is the only trading colony belonging to the English in the Leeward islands. All, or almost all the ships laden with slaves that come from the coast of Africa, land there. If they cannot get a good price for their

(t) 295,312*l.* 2*s.*(u) 35,000*l.*

their negroes, they go somewhere else ; but it seldom happens that they do not dispose of them at Barbadoes. The usual price of slaves is from eight to nine hundred livres, (w) according to what nation or tribe they belong to. In this bargain, no distinction is ever made of age or sex, but they all sell together at so much a head. The payments are made in bills of exchange upon London, at ninety days sight.

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THESE negroes, which the merchants have bought by wholesale, they retail on this very island, or in some other of the English islands. The refuse is smuggled into the Spanish or French colonies. By this traffic five or six millions of livres (x) were formerly circulated in Barbadoes ; the species that is still to be found there, though in smaller quantities, is all foreign ; it is looked upon as a commodity, and is only taken by the weight. The shipping properly belonging to this settlement, consists of a sufficient number of vessels for their several correspondences, and about forty sloops employed in the fishery of the flying fish. Nature and art conspire to fortify this island. Two thirds of its circumference are rendered inaccessible by dangerous rocks, and on the open side they have drawn lines, which are defended at proper distances by forts, provided with a formidable artillery. So that Barbadoes is still in a condition to command respect in time of war, and to be courted by her neighbours in time of peace. It affords a solid foundation for the richest of all cultures, a convenient mart for the slave trade, a larger proportion of revenue, of population, of commerce, and of forces, than could reasonably be expected on so small a spot, especially when compared to other neighbouring islands. Antigua, which is almost as large, neither

(w) About 37l. on an average.

(x) About 240,500l. on an average.

BOOK neither enjoys the same advantages, nor is of the same
XIV. consequence.

Settlement
 of the Eng-
 lish at An-
 tigua.

THIS island, which is but twenty miles long, but of considerable breadth, was found totally uninhabited, by those few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1629, upon being driven from St. Christopher's by the Spaniards. The want of springs, which, doubtless, was the reason why no savages had settled there, induced these fugitives to return, as soon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Englishmen, more enterprizing than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themselves that they should overcome this great obstacle, by collecting the rain-water in cisterns, and they therefore settled there. The year in which this settlement was begun is not exactly known; but it appears that in January 1640, there were about thirty families on the island.

THE number was not much increased, when king Charles II. granted the property of this island to lord Willoughby, as his father had given that of Barbadoes to the earl of Carlisle. His lordship sent over a good number of inhabitants at his own expence, in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themselves by the culture of tobacco, indigo and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Coddington introduced into the island, which was then restored to the dominion of the state, a source of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of sugar. The sugar was at first black, harsh and coarse, and would not sell in England; they could only dispose of it in Holland, and in the Hans towns, where it sold for much less than that of the other colonies. By the most assiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this sugar to as great a perfection, and to fetch as high a price as any other.

The

The island yielded 8000 hogheads, the only fruit of the
labours of fifteen or sixteen thousand blacks.

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THE abuse of authority, so common in most nations, but so rare among the English, was severely felt at Antigua, and did not go unpunished. The governor, colonel Park, in defiance of the laws, and regardless of morals or decorum, gave a loose to his unbounded arrogance. The members of the council, unable to put a stop to excesses which they abhorred, summoned the colonists in 1710 to protect their representatives, to defend the fortunes of the public, and to put an end to so many calamities. Upon this they immediately took up arms. The tyrant was attacked in his own house, and stabbed to death. His corpse was thrown naked into the street, and mutilated by those whose bed he had dishonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the sacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked a deed which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which she was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of a tyrant to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppressed. Machiavelism, which teaches princes the art of being feared and detested, directs them to flatter the victims whose cries grow importunate. Humanity prescribes to kings, justice in legislation, mildness in administration, lenity to prevent insurrections, and clemency to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people, but God above all things requires equity in princes. If they violate it, a hundred thousand arms and voices will be lifted up against a single man, at the judgment of heaven and earth. The American islands have sometimes avenged the authority of kings and the rights of the people upon iniquitous governors, who, by a double treachery, prostituted the king's name to oppress a nation. Antigua will be celebrated

BOOK brated in history for this terrible example of justice. This
XIV. island is, however, too confined ; but that of Montserrat
 is still less.

Settlement
 of the Eng-
 lish at
 Montser-
 rat.

THE Spaniards discovered this island in 1493. They did not settle there, but gave it the name of a mountain in Catalonia, which it resembles in shape. It is almost round, and about nine leagues in circumference. The ground is very uneven, full of barren hills, and vallies fertilized by the waters. The English, who landed there in 1632, were not content with disturbing the peace of the many savages who dwelt there, but drove them all away. This barbarity was not productive of the advantages they expected from it. The progress of the colony was but slow, and it made no figure till towards the end of the century.

AT this period, a spirit of universal exertion displayed itself, which, however, could not be accounted for from any particular cause. The less important cultures, which barely afforded a scanty provision of common necessaries, were all turned to sugar-plantations. Five thousand hogheads are now annually made by ten thousand slaves, though several misfortunes, occasioned either by war, or by the elements, have from time to time disappointed the industry of the planters. The loading and unloading of ships is difficult in an island which has not one good road. They would even be in danger upon the coasts, if the masters did not take care, when they see a storm approaching, to put out to sea, or to take shelter in some neighbouring harbour. Nevis is exposed to the same inconvenience.

Settlement
 of the Eng-
 lish at Ne-
 vis.

THE most generally received opinion is, that the English settled on this island in 1628. It is properly but a very high mountain of an easy ascent, and crowned with tall trees. The plantations lie all round ; and begin-
 ing

ing. at the sea side, are continued almost to the top of the mountain; but the higher they stand, the less fertile they are, because the soil grows more stony. This island is watered by many streams, which would be so many sources of plenty, if they did not in stormy weather swell into torrents, wash away the lands, and destroy the very treasures they have produced.

The colony of Nevis is a model of virtue, order and piety. These exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the first governor. This incomparable man inspired all the inhabitants by his own example with a love of labour, a reasonable œconomy, and innocent recreations. All the plantations, especially those of sugar, were successfully encouraged. The commander and those who obeyed were all actuated by the same principle of the strictest equity. Never was there an instance of greater harmony, peace and security. So rapid was the progress of this singular settlement, that if we may credit all the accounts of those times, it soon contained 10,000 white people, and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that such a population in so small a compass must be over rated, still it will shew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the prosperity of a well regulated society.

BUT, even virtue itself will not secure either individuals or societies from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689, a dreadful mortality swept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French Squadron, which carried off three or four thousand slaves. The next year, the ruin of this island was completed by the most furious hurricane ever recorded. Since this series of disasters, it has recovered a little, and at this day contains 8000 blacks, and produces 4000 hogheads of sugar. Perhaps those who
grieve

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grieve most at the destruction of the Americans, and the slavery of the Africans, would receive some consolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the English have been in this island of Nevis, and if all the islands in that part of the world were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and society afford few such prodigies.

ENGLAND draws no productions from Barbuda, Anguilla, or the Virgin islands. Four thousand inhabitants, half freemen, and half slaves, scattered about these wretched settlements, breed some cattle, and grow some few provisions, that they go and sell in the neighbouring colonies. Though they are poor, they enjoy the benefit of a free and separate government; yet the chief of these islands, as also of Antigua, Montserrat, and Nevis, is but the deputy of a governor general, who resides at St. Christopher's.

Settlement
of the
English at
St. Chris-
topher's.

SAINT Christopher's was the nursery of all the English and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the same day in 1625. They shared the island between them, signed a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to assist each other against their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century past had engrossed or disturbed the whole hemisphere. But jealousy soon divided those whom interest had united. The French grew envious of the prosperous labours of the English, who on their side could not patiently bear that an idle neighbour, whose only employment was hunting and gallantry, should be trying to rob them of their wives. This reciprocal uneasiness soon created quarrels, fighting, and devastations, though neither of the parties aimed at conquest. These were only domestic animosities, in which government took no part. Greater interests having kindled a war between
the

the two mother-countries in 1666, St. Christopher's BOOK
XIV. became a scene of carnage for half a century. The weaker party having been compelled to evacuate the colony, soon entered it again with a reinforcement, both to revenge their defeat and to repair their losses. This long contest, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulsion of the French in 1702, and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

THIS was no great sacrifice at that time, for a people who had never done any thing there but hunt and shed blood. Their population amounted but to 667 white people of all ages and of both sexes, 29 free blacks, and 659 slaves. All their herds consisted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horses. They raised nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one single sugar plantation.

THOUGH the English had for a long time made a greater advantage of this island, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done from having the sole possession of it.

THIS conquest was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who sold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures, though they could warrant the duration of the sale or grant only during the term of their administration. The parliament of England at last put an end to this grievance, by ordering that all lands should be put up to auction, and the purchase money poured into the public coffers. After this wise regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

THE whole of the island may be about seventy miles in circumference. The center is full of high and barren mountains, and the plains of pleasant, neat and commodious

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modious habitations, adorned with avenues, fountains and groves. The taste for rural life, which the English have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the highest degree at St. Christopher's. They never had the least occasion to form a parcel of small societies in order to beguile time, and if the French had not left there a small town, where their manners are preserved, they would still be unacquainted with that kind of social life, which is productive of more altercations than pleasures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Instead of this image of union, which is in fact but a beginning of discord, the English planters live by themselves, but live happy; their soul and countenance as serene as the clear sky, under which they breathe a pure and wholesome air, in the midst of their plantation, and surrounded with their slaves; whom no doubt they govern like so many fathers, since they inspire them with generous and sometimes heroic sentiments. St. Christopher's has afforded such a signal instance of love and friendship, as is not to be paralleled in fable or history.

Two negroes, both young, handsome, robust, courageous, and born with a soul of an uncommon cast, were fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the same labours, they were united by their sufferings, which in feeling minds form a stronger attachment than pleasures. If they were not happy, they comforted each other in their misfortunes. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of misfortunes, served only to make theirs complete. A negro girl, who was likewise a slave, and whose eyes no doubt were the brighter from the contrast of her dark complexion, kindled an equal flame in the hearts of these two friends. The girl, who

was

was more capable of inspiring than of feeling a strong passion, would gladly have married either of them, but neither of them would rob his friend, or give her up. Time served only to increase the torments they suffered, without affecting their friendship or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguish stream from their eyes, in the midst of the demonstrations of friendship they gave each other, at the sight of the too beloved object that threw them into despair. They sometimes swore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendship. The whole plantation was moved at the sight of these conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every conversation. One day they followed her into a wood, there each embraced her, clasped her a thousand times to his heart, swore all the oaths and called her every tender name that love could inspire, and at once, without speaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breast. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her last breath. They roared aloud, and made the wood ring with their violent outcries. A slave came running to their assistance, and saw them at a distance smothering the victim of their strange love with their kisses. He called out to some others who soon came up, and found these two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood; whilst they themselves were expiring in the streams that flowed from their own wounds.

THESE lovers and these friends were a part of a body of 25,000 negroes, destined to furnish Europe with twelve or thirteen thousand hogheads of sugar. It is in the midst of such severe labours, and in so degrading a station, that we see such actions, as must astonish the whole world. If there is a man who is not struck

BOOK with horror and compassion at the greatness of this
XIV.

ferocious love, nature must have formed such a man, not for the slavery of the negroes, but for the tyranny of their masters. He will have lived without commiserating others, and will die without comfort; he must never have shed a tear, and none will ever be shed for him. But it is now time to quit St. Christopher's, and pass on to Jamaica.

The English drive the Spaniards from Jamaica, and settle themselves there.

THIS island, which lies to windward of the other English islands, and which geographers have ranked amongst the greater Leeward islands, is nearly of an oval figure, the greater diameter being 170 miles, and the lesser 70 at most. It is intersected with several ridges of high craggy mountains, with frightful rocks irregularly heaped up one upon another. Their barrenness does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that strike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moisture that is deposited there by storms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embellished by a multitude of plentiful cascades, makes a constant spring all the year round, and exhibits the most enchanting prospect in nature. But these waters which fall from the barren summits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackish and unwholesome. This defect is happily compensated by the salubrity of the air, which is the purest of any between the tropics in either hemisphere.

COLUMBUS discovered this island in 1494, but made no settlement there. Eight years after, he was thrown upon it by a storm. Having lost his ships, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the savages, who gave him all the assistance that natural pity suggests. But these people, who cultivated no more land than what was just sufficient to supply their own wants, soon
grew

grew tired of supporting strangers, to the manifest risque of BOOK
XIV. starving themselves, and insensibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indisposed the Indians against them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded so far as to take up arms against a chief whom they accused of too much severity, because he disapproved of their ferocity. Columbus, forced to yield to their threats, in order to disengage himself from so desperate a situation, availed himself of one of those natural phenomena, in which a man of genius may sometimes find a resource, which he may be excused for having recourse to in a case of urgent necessity.

FROM the little he had learnt of astronomy, he knew there would soon be an eclipse of the moon. He took advantage of this circumstance, and summoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear something that nearly concerned them, and was essential to their preservation. He then stood up in the midst of them, and having upbraided them with their barbarity, in leaving him and his companions to perish for want, he addressed them in these words, which he pronounced with an air of inspiration: *To punish you for this, the God whom I worship is going to strike you with his most terrible judgments. This very evening you will see the moon turn red, then grow dark and withhold her light from you. This will be but a prelude to your calamities, if you obstinately refuse to give us food.*

THE admiral had scarce done speaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The savages were terrified beyond measure; they thought they were all lost; they begged for mercy, and promised to do any thing they should desire. They were then told that heaven, moved at their repentance, was appeased, and that nature was going to

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refume her wonted course. From that moment, provisions were sent in from all quarters, and Columbus had plenty all the while he remained there.

It was Don Diego, the son of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he sent thither seventy robbers from St. Domingo under the command of John d'Esquimel, and others soon followed. It seemed as if they all went over to this delightful and peaceable island, for no other purpose than to spill human blood. Those barbarous wretches never sheathed their sword while there was one inhabitant left to preserve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain and hospitable people. It was happy for the earth, that these murderers were not to supply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an island where no gold was to be had. Their cruelty did not answer the purpose of their avarice, and the earth which they had drenched with blood, seemed to refuse her assistance to second the barbarous efforts they made to fix there. Every settlement raised upon the ashes of the natives, was unsuccessful, when labour and despair had completed the destruction of the few savages who had escaped the fury of the first conquests. That of St. Jago de la Vega, was the only one that supported itself. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleness, the usual consequence of tyranny after devastation, were content with living upon the produce of some few plantations, and the overplus they sold to the ships that passed by their coasts. The whole population of the colony, centered in the little spot that fed this worthless race of destroyers, consisted of 1500 slaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the English came and attacked the town, took it, and settled there in 1655.

THEY

THEY brought discord along with them. At first, the new colony was only inhabited by three thousand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the standards of the republican party. They were soon followed by a multitude of royalists, who were in hopes of finding rest and peace in America, to comfort them after their defeat. The party divisions, which had so long and so cruelly tormented them at home, followed them beyond the seas. One party insolently triumphed in the protection of Cromwell, whom they had exalted upon the ruins of the throne: the other trusted to the governor of the island, who was a royalist in his heart, though forced to bend under the authority that appointed him. This was sufficient to have renewed in America the scenes of horror and bloodshed which had so often been acted in England, had not Pen and Venables the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the island to the wisest of their men, who happened to be the oldest officer. His name was Dudley, and he was a friend to the Stewarts. Twice did Cromwell appoint some of his own party in his stead, and twice did Dudley come in again, upon the death of his opponents.

THE conspiracies that were forming against him were discovered and frustrated. Never did he suffer the smallest breach of discipline to go unpunished. He always kept the balance even between the faction his heart detested and the party he loved. He excited industry, and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his disinterested behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a salary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a steady and strict commander, and a wise politician. His manner of governing was

B O O K altogether military, because his business was to restrain or
 { **XIV.** } to regulate an infant colony, wholly composed of soldiers,
 and to prevent and repulse any invasion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had lost.

BUT when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was established at Jamaica, modelled like those of the other islands upon that of the mother-country. The governor represented the king; the council the peers; and three deputies from each town with two from every parish, constituted the commons. But the first exertions of this assembly were confined to a few temporary regulations, relative to the police, the administration of justice, and the finances, thrown together without any order. It was not till the year 1682 that the code of laws was drawn up, which to this day preserves the colony in all its vigour. Three of these wise statutes merit the attention of our political readers.

THE one, which provides for the defence of their country, warmly excites that very self-interest which might divert individuals from attending to it. It is enacted, that whatever mischief is done by the enemy, shall immediately be made good by the state or at the expence of all the subjects, if the money found in the treasury should prove insufficient.

ANOTHER law concerns the means of increasing population. It enacts, that every ship captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his passage, shall receive a general gratuity of twenty-two livres ten sols (y). The particular gratuity is 168 livres fifteen sols (x), for every person brought from England or Scotland &

(y) 19s. 8d. halfpenny.

(x) About 7*l.* 7*s.*

land; 135 livres (a) for every person brought from Ire-
land; seventy-eight livres fifteen sols (b) for every person
brought from the continent of America; and forty-five
livres (c) for every person brought from the other islands.

THE third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either interest or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is appraised by twelve planters who are his equals. The creditor is obliged to take the estate in full payment, though the appraisement should fall short of the debt; but if the plantation exceeds the debt, then, he must reimburse the overplus. This regulation, though it leaves room for partialities, makes amends for it by the general good it produces of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's law-suits against the planter. The result of this disposition is in favour of lands and men in general. The creditor is seldom a sufferer, because he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honest, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the basis of all agreements, and confidence is only to be gained by virtue.

THE colony had already acquired some degree of fame, Jamaica before these salutary laws had secured her prosperity. Some has enriched itself by the illegal trade it has carried on with Spanish America. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealousy, as from an unsettled disposition and want of fortune, attacked the Spanish ships. These corsairs were seconded by Cromwell's soldiers, who gaining nothing after his death, but that public aversion which their former successes had drawn upon them, went to seek that promotion abroad, which they could never expect at home. These were joined by a multitude of Englishmen of both parties, accustomed to blood, by the civil wars which had ruined them. These

I i 4

men

(a) 5*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* halfpenny.(b) About 3*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*(c) 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny.

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men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the seas, and ravaged the coasts of America. Jamaica was the place where the spoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the English, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this island more ease, a better reception, protection and freedom than any where else, whether for landing, or for spending the produce of their excursions as they pleased. Here extravagance and debauchery soon plunged them again into indigence. This only spur to their cruel and sanguinary industry, made them hasten to commit fresh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual vicissitudes of fortune, and enriched itself by the vices which were both the source and the ruin of their wealth.

WHEN this destructive race became extinct, by reason of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from wretches still more unjust and cruel than themselves, proved a fresh source of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandestine trade with the Spanish settlements. This vein of riches continued increasing, and especially towards the end of the century. Some Portuguese, with a capital of three millions,^(d) of which the sovereign had advanced two thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furnish the subjects of the court of Madrid with 5000 blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to last. This company drew a great many of those slaves from Jamaica. From that time the colonists had constant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portuguese agents, or by the captains of their own ships employed in this trade. But this intercourse was somewhat slackened by the war, which broke out on account of the succession to the throne of Spain.

AT

(d) About 131,250*l*.

AT the peace, the Affiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South Sea company, which was appointed to furnish the Spanish colonies with negroes, would entirely exclude them from all access to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the measures of the English ministry. They wisely foresaw that the activity of the Affientists would excite a new spirit for the old smuggling trade. This was so fully verified, that in 1739, it was the general opinion that Jamaica had drawn fifteen hundred millions of livres^(e) from the Spanish West-Indies.

THIS illicit trade was carried on in a very simple manner. An English vessel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or provisions, that her mast was broken, that she had sprung a leak, which could not be discovered or stopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ship to come into the harbour to refit. But for form sake, and to disculpate himself to his court, he ordered a seal to be affixed to the door of the warehouse where the goods were deposited; whilst another door was left unsealed, through which the things that were exchanged in this trade were carried in and out by stealth. When the whole transaction was ended, the stranger, who was always in want of money, requested that he might be permitted to sell as much as would pay his charges; and it was always granted, though with an appearance of great difficulty. This farce was necessary, that the governor or his agents might safely dispose in public of what they had previously bought in secret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they sold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greatest cargoes disposed of.

THE

(e) 65,625,000*l*.

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THE court of Madrid thought to put a stop to these practices, by prohibiting the admission of all foreign ships into the Spanish harbours on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica substituted force to artifice, and supported themselves in this trade under the protection of their men of war, allowing the captain five *per cent.* upon every article of which he authorized the smuggling between the subjects of both crowns, and contrary to their treaty; so true it is, that kings in vain enter into agreements, that are inconsistent with the reciprocal interest of nations.

To this open violation of public order, has succeeded a more private and less alarming one. The ships fitted out at Jamaica, repair to those ports of the Spanish coast which are least frequented; especially to those of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who speaks the language of the country, is immediately put ashore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ships. The news is propagated with amazing speed to the most distant parts; the merchants hasten to the place, and enter upon the business, but with such precautions as experience has taught them. The ship's company are divided into three parties. Whilst the first is entertaining the purchasers, and treating them with great civilities, at the same time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them from exercising their inclination and dexterity in stealing; the second is employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and silver of the Spaniards, in exchange for slaves, quicksilver, silks, and other commodities. The third division is in the mean while under arms upon deck, to provide for the safety of the ship, and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than can be kept in order.

WHEN all the business is done, the Englishman returns with his stock, which he has commonly doubled, and the Spaniard

Spaniard with his purchase, of which he hopes to make BOOK
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as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a discovery, he avoids the high roads, and goes through by-ways, with the negroes he has bought, who carry the goods in small parcels.

THIS manner of trading had been carried on successfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations, when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obstructed by substituting register-ships to the galleons. It has gradually diminished, and of late was reduced to fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand livres (*f*) *per annum*. The British ministry, wishing to restore, or recover the profit of it, judged in 1766 that the best expedient to repair the losses of Jamaica, was to make it a free port.

IMMEDIATELY the Ships flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and silver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. The year before this regulation, the exports from Great-Britain for this island, had not exceeded 9,351,540 livres (*g*); but this plan must increase them considerably. Freedom of trade is a great allurements to foreigners, and a great source of wealth to the nation that opens her ports.

IF it had not been for the restriction which excludes all commodities of the same nature with those of Jamaica, it is most probable those of St. Domingo would have taken the same course with those of Mexico and Peru. What is the reason that the same government, which is endeavouring to draw into one of its marts the productions of the French Windward islands, should deny an entrance to those of a Leeward island? Perhaps, it might be feared, that the subjects should find means to obtain from a rival, who can venture with impunity to sell every thing at a lower

(*f*) On an average about 67,800*l*. (*g*) 415,379*l*. 17*s*. 6*d*.

BOOK lower price those goods which should contribute to keep
 XIV. up their trade with the Spanish colonies.

WHETHER this conjecture is well or ill grounded, the English have not trusted so much to the readiness of the Spaniards to come to their ports, but they have contrived other means of extending their commerce with them. The merchants of Jamaica had formerly settled some factories in the bay of Honduras, on the Black river, near the Musquito shore. For reasons unknown to us, they had forsaken them. They have now restored them, in the beginning of the 1766, in hopes of supplying the inland provinces of Mexico with provisions, and if we are not misinformed, the success far surpasses their expectation.

Jamaica has enriched itself by its plantations, still more than by its illegal trade.

YET this fraudulent and precarious trade is a trifle, compared to the immense riches which the plantations of Jamaica have produced. The first culture which the inhabitants applied to, was that of cocoa, which they found well established by the Spaniards. It prospered as long as those plantations lasted, which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food and their only traffic. The new planters perceived that they began to decay, and they renewed them, but either for want of care or of skill in the new planters, the trees did not succeed. They grew tired of the culture, and applied themselves to that of indigo.

THIS production went on successfully, when the parliament thought proper to lay a duty of three livres, eighteen sols, six deniers (*b*), upon every pound of indigo, which then sold for eleven livres five sols (*i*). If this was evidently an immoderate duty at that time, it grew quite intolerable, when the French competition brought down the price

(*b*) 3s. 5d. three farthings.

(*i*) 9s. 10d.

price of the commodity to four livres ten sols (*k*) a pound. BOOK
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At this period all the indigo plantations fell throughout the English islands, and no where so fast as at Jamaica. The government has since endeavoured to retrieve this loss; they have not only taken off the heavy load with which they had clogged that branch of industry, but have encouraged it by a bounty of eleven sols three deniers (*l*), upon every pound of indigo raised in the British settlements. This generosity has shewed itself too late, and has only occasioned abuses. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica people fetch indigo from St. Domingo, and then send it over to Great-Britain as the growth of their own plantation. This fraudulent traffic may amount to 1,200,000 livres (*m*) a year.

THE expence the government is at on this account, cannot be looked upon as a clear loss, since it is of use to the nation; but it keeps up that mistrust, and we may say, that propensity to cheating, which pecuniary concerns have bred in most of our governments, between the state and the subjects. Ever since the prince has been incessantly contriving means to acquire money, the people have been studying artifices to elude the injustice of taxes, and to cheat the prince. When one side has shewn no moderation in their demands, no bounds to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any scruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honesty in the payment of the duties, nor uprightness in the engagements between the subject and the government. Oppression reigned on one hand, and plundering on the other; the finance extorted from commerce, and commerce eluded or cheated the finance. The treasury pillaged the planters, and the planters imposed upon the treasury by false entries.

The

(*k*) 3s. 11d. one farthing. (*l*) About 6d. (*m*) 52,500*l*.

BOOK The colonist was teased with taxes, services, and militias ;
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and he rejected this threefold bondage openly and by force when he was able, and when he was not, by clamours and complaints. If England does not supply us with all these instances of the faulty administration introduced by the spirit of finance, Europe can shew other states which too fully justify this picture.

THE culture of indigo was not yet totally given up at Jamaica, when that of cotton was undertaken. The American islands produce cotton shrubs of various sizes, which rise and grow up without any culture, especially in low and marshy grounds. Their fleece is of a pale red, some paler than others, but so short that it cannot be spun. None of this is brought to Europe, though it might very well be used in making of hats. The little they think proper to pick up, serves to make mattresses and pillows.

THE cotton shrub that supplies our manufactures, requires a dry and stony soil, and thrives best in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears more flourishing in fresh lands than in those which are exhausted, but then it is too luxuriant, and as it shoots more wood, it bears less fruit.

A western position is fittest for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and during the first spring rains. Holes are made at seven or eight feet distance from each other, and a few seeds thrown in. When they are grown to the height of five or six inches, all the stems are pulled up, except two or three of the stoutest. These are cropped twice before the end of August. This precaution is the more necessary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the second pruning; and if the shrub was suffered to grow more than four feet high, the crop would not be the greater, nor the fruit so easily gathered. The same method is pursued for three years, for so long the shrub

Shrub may continue, if it cannot conveniently be renewed oftener, with the prospect of an advantage that will compensate the trouble. BOOK
XIV.

THIS useful plant will not thrive if the ground about it is not kept constantly weeded. Frequent rains will promote its growth, but they must not be incessant. Dry weather is particularly necessary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton; for it would be discoloured and spotty if it should prove a wet season.

THE cotton shrub bears fruit within nine or ten months after it is planted. A flower blows at the extremity of its branches, and the pistil of this flower turns to a shell, of the size of a pigeon's egg, which opens, and divides in three, when the cotton is ripe.

WHEN it is all gathered in, the seeds must be picked out from the fruit with which they are naturally mixed. This is done by means of a cotton mill, which is an engine, composed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, so as to leave no more distance between them, than what is necessary for the seed to slip through. At one end is a kind of little millstone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They catch up the cotton, and repel the seed contained in it.

WHILST the culture of cotton flagged in the other English islands, it flourished more and more at Jamaica; but we may venture to foretell that it will fall. The parliament, that is to say the nation, who knows and administers her own revenues, seeing that the cotton of her own colonies was not sufficient to employ her manufactures, took off the duties upon foreign cottons in

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1766. The granting such a freedom as must increase the importation and reduce the price of an unwrought commodity, deserves the highest encomiums. Perhaps, a provident administration ought to have gone a step further, and have granted a temporary bounty upon all cottons imported from the national settlements, to obviate the discouragement which may arise from foreign competition, and from the reduced price of the commodity. But if the English are anxious about the success of this important article, they need not be so for their ginger.

THIS plant, which never grows above two feet high, is rather bushy. Its leaves exactly resemble those of rushes, only they are smaller. It is propagated by shoots, which are planted two or three fingers deep about the end of the rainy season, and come up in a week's time. When the leaves turn yellow and wither, the ginger is ripe; they pull it up, and expose it to the sun or wind to dry. The roots, which are the only useful part, are flat, broad, of an irregular shape, but mostly resembling the foot of a goose. Their substance is close, heavy, white, firm, and of the consistence of a turnip.

THE culture of ginger is easy, and by no means expensive: a single man may undertake it alone. The root has this double advantage, that it will keep many years in the ground without rotting, and as long as we please after it is gathered, without being in the least injured. But if ginger requires no great labour, it absorbs a vast quantity of nutritive juices; insomuch that a piece of ground which has bore three or four crops of ginger, is so exhausted of salts, that nothing will thrive upon it.

WHEN first the Europeans came to the Leeward islands, the Caribs made use of ginger; but their consumption in this and in every other article, was so small, that they were content with what grew wild. The conquerors, though

though in a hot climate, grew passionately fond of this hot spice. They ate it in the morning to sharpen their appetite; they served it up at table; they preserved it in several different ways; they used it, after meals to facilitate digestion, and at sea as an antidote against the scurvy. This fashion was adopted in Europe, ginger was used on every occasion; it was commonly mixed with pepper, which was then very dear. This eastern production fell gradually to a lower price, and ginger grew out of repute. After bearing a considerable price, it sank towards the latter end of the century to ten livres a hundred.⁽ⁿ⁾ In a short time no body cared for it, and this culture was dropped almost every where, except at Jamaica.

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For the last thirteen years, it is computed that this island has exported upon an average 649,865 pounds weight a year. Most of it has been consumed in the British dominions; the rest has been sold in the north, at a price which cannot tempt the colonies where the land is not ordinary and poor as at Jamaica.

BESIDES ginger, this island furnishes Europe with a good quantity of pimento. There are several sorts, more or less pungent. The tree which bears that sort called Jamaica pepper, commonly grows upon the mountains, to the height of above thirty feet. It is very strait, moderately thick, and covered with a greyish, smooth and shining bark. The leaves exactly resemble those of the laurel. The flowers blow at the extremities of the branches, and are succeeded by bunches somewhat larger than those of the juniper. They are gathered green, and spread in the sun to dry. They turn brown, and acquire a spicy smell, from whence in England they call pimento all-spice. It is an excellent thing to strengthen cold

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stomachs

BOOK stomachs that are subject to crudities ; but spices should
XIV. be cultivated in Asia, and sugar in America.

The art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by some inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was possessed of every requisite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his skill and activity, enabled him to clear an immense tract of land, and raised him in time to the government of the colony. Yet neither could the sight of his growing fortune, nor his warm sollicitations, prevail upon men accustomed to arms and idleness to apply to the labours of husbandry. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1670 from Surinam, which had just been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Necessity inspired them with resolution, and their example excited emulation. These beginnings of labour were happily supported by the quantity of money that was daily poured into Jamaica, from the uninterrupted success of the free-booters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchasing slaves, implements of husbandry, and household goods for the new habitations. The face of things was wholly changed. Jamaica soon exported vast quantities of sugar, superior in kind to that of the other English islands. This culture has never lessened, not even when that of coffee was joined to it.

THIS valuable plant, brought from the East-Indies, enriched the Dutch and French settlements in America, before ever the English thought of appropriating it to themselves ; and, indeed, it has been adopted only at Jamaica ; but that island will soon furnish as much as the British dominions can consume. The mother country has encouraged this culture, and brought it to this pitch,
 by

by enacting, that all foreign coffee imported into her dominions, should pay six livres (e) more duty upon every hundred weight, than that imported from her own colonies. BOOK
XIV.

The commissioners for the plantations declared in the house of lords in 1734, that the productions of Jamaica, imported the year before amounted but to 12,138,748 livres, 1 sol, 6 deniers. (p) Their value hath since risen to 15,300,000 livres. (q) This revenue is produced by 25,000 hogsheads of sugar, 2000 bags of cotton, three millions weight of coffee, besides skins, ginger, woods for dyeing, and other lesser articles. These are the fruits of the labour of 20,000 white men, and 90,000 blacks, gathered together in a few towns, or dispersed in nineteen parishes. The yearly administration and defence of the colony amounts to two millions of livres, (r) and in some particular circumstances much more. Her whole capital, in lands, slaves, houses, and moveables of every kind, has been estimated at 495,000,000 livres. (s) But it is scarce credible, that little of this wealth is the property of the planters. Either by misfortunes, by extravagance, or by the ease with which they find credit, they have involved themselves in prodigious debts to the merchants settled on the island, and especially to the Jews. May that people, who at their first origin were slaves, and afterwards became conquerors, and who are now reduced to their former state of slavery, or become fugitives for these twenty centuries past, one day lawfully possess this or some other rich island of America, where they may collect all their children, and train them up in peace to husbandry and commerce, out of the reach of that fanaticism which has made them odious to the earth, and that persecution which has made them pay so dear for the errors of their worship and belief!

K k 2

May

(e) 5s. 3d. (p) 531,070l. 4s. 6d. 3-4. (q) 669,375⁶
(r) 87,500l. (s) 21,656,250l.

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May the Jews at last live happy, free and quiet in some corner of the world, since they are our brethren by the ties of humanity, and our fathers by the tenets of religion!

If we may believe some who are well acquainted with the state of affairs at Jamaica, no less than two thirds of the estates are mortgaged. This distress must increase, unless it is stopped by a great and rapid augmentation of the plantations. Whether this is possible or probable, shall be the subject of our next inquiry.

Is it possible that the produce of Jamaica should be multiplied? UPON the most moderate computation, the extent of Jamaica appears to be four millions of acres, each 720 feet long, and 72 broad. It has been said that one third of this large space was inhabited and cultivated. The present state of the population and cultivation contradicts this assertion, though both are more flourishing than ever. All the inland parts are a mere desert. There are no plantations but upon the coasts, and even these are not all cultivated. Most of the planters possess immense grounds, but hardly one fourth part of them is put to any use. All the labour is bestowed upon 200,000 acres at most.

WHEN we consider, that Jamaica has been long since inhabited by an industrious and skilful people; that the piratical war, and the contraband trade, have at all times poured in immense treasures; that the means of culture have never been wanting; that for this long time, they have had recourse to manure; that their roads and harbours are prodigiously multiplied for exportation; that the mother country and all Europe have received their produce; that notwithstanding all these advantages, land has never sold for more than one third of what it has brought in the other islands; when we consider maturely all these circumstances, we are tempted to conclude that
the

the soil of Jamaica must be in general bad, or very indifferent. BOOK
XIV.

THE sea side, which, for the conveniency of transport, naturally claims the preference for sugar plantations, must be supposed to have had all the pains taken with it, and to have been improved to the highest degree, that it was capable of. The excessive and constant coolness of the mountains, would be so hurtful to all productions, and so destructive to the slaves, that it would be in vain to attempt any plantations there. The intermediate space between the mountains and the sea coasts, is often extremely dry, but here and there it is interspersed with valleys, hills and plains, where it plainly appears that the Indians planted their maize, and the Spaniards bred their cattle. It may be presumed that these lands, properly managed, would yield abundance of cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo; articles which the English do not seem hitherto to have paid a proper attention. But these riches are not sufficient to make any colony flourish in the highest degree. Nothing will effect this at present in the American islands but sugar.

THOUGH this commodity is cultivated all round the island of Jamaica, it is more particularly so on the southern coast, which the Spaniards inhabited, and where their conquerors have multiplied more than in any other part. Their inducement was a safe and commodious road, where a thousand men of war may ride. This inestimable advantage laid the foundation of Port Royal, which, though it stands on sandy ground that affords none of the necessaries of life, not even fresh water, became a famous city in less than thirty years. This splendor was owing to a constant and quick circulation of business, consisting of the growth of the island, the captures of the free-booters, and the contraband trade carried

BOOK on with the continent. The world can shew few cities
XIV. where the thirst of wealth and pleasures has united more
 opulence and more corruption.

Jamaica
 experiences
 a great ca-
 lamity.
 Conse-
 quences of
 this catast-
 rophe.

NATURE in one moment destroyed this brilliant ap-
 pearance. The sky, which was clear and serene, at once
 grew turbid and red; a rumbling noise was heard under
 ground, spreading from the mountains to the plain; the
 rocks split; hills that were at a great distance came close
 together; infectious lakes appeared on the spots where
 whole mountains had been swallowed up; whole plan-
 tations were removed several miles from the place where
 they stood; enormous chasms were opened, from whence
 gushed out huge columns of water that corrupted the air;
 many habitations disappeared, being either sunk into the
 caverns of the earth, or overturned. The sea was
 soon covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up,
 or the winds blown away. Thirteen thousand lives were
 lost by this dreadful earthquake, and three thousand by a
 contagious distemper that broke out soon after. It is said
 that since this catastrophe of the 7th of June 1692, the
 climate of Jamaica is not so fine, the sky not so clear,
 nor the soil so fruitful as it was before. The mountains
 are not so high, and the island is lower than it was. It is
 affirmed that most of the wells can be reached with ropes
 shorter by two or three feet than were required before this
 terrible event: a monument of the fragility of conquest,
 which should have taught the Europeans not to trust to
 the possession of a world that trembles under their feet,
 and seems to slip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal was washed away
 and destroyed; all the ships in the road were shattered to
 pieces, or thrown a considerable distance upon dry land.
 But this city was too advantageously situated to be given
 up. The people had scarce recovered from their conster-
 nation,

nation, when they set about rebuilding it. But these labours were fruitless. The rising walls were again blown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jerusalem of old, could never be rebuilt. The earth seemed only digged to swallow it up. By a singularity which baffles all human efforts and reasonings, the only houses that are left standing after this subversion, remain upon a narrow slip of land, which advances several miles into the sea. Thus the land overturns edifices, to which the inconstant ocean furnishes as it were a solid foundation. These few buildings, which lie open to invasion, are defended by one of the best fortresses in America.

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THE inhabitants of Port Royal, disheartened by these repeated calamities, retired to Kingston, which is situated in the same bay. By their industry and activity, this town soon became a pleasant and flourishing city, and it is now the center of all the business. If it is not so brisk as it was formerly at Port Royal, it is because the colony has not now the same connections abroad. The new mart lay open to secure the merchants from all uneasiness. It is but within these few years that it has been surrounded with works able to defend it from insult.

YET Kingston, notwithstanding it's progress, never became the capital; this title is still given to St. Jago de la Vega, which the English call Spanish town. It is situated some leagues from the sea, upon the river Cobra, which, though not navigable, is the finest in the island. This was the governor's residence, and the place where the general assembly and the courts of justice were held. The principal officers and the richest planters resided there, which made it a very sociable place, abounding with all the conveniencies and luxuries of life.

Such was the state of things in 1756, when Admiral Knowles judged it to be more for the advantage of the

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colony, that the government should be removed to the center of business. His opinion was adopted by the legislative body of the island, who agreed that for the future every thing relative to administration should be transacted at Kingston. Personal hatred against the projector of this plan; the harshness of the measures he took to carry it into execution; the attachment most people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberless private interests that must be affected by this alteration; all these causes indisposed many people against a scheme, which was, indeed, liable to some inconveniencies, but was founded on decisive reasons, and attended with great advantages. The promoters of the new system, on their side, supported it with a contemptuous haughtiness. This opposition of sentiments produced two parties, and the animosity between them, which was violent at first, has still gone on increasing. These divisions are sufficient to inflame the whole colony. But they have much more to fear from the fierce enemies who threaten them incessantly in the very heart of the island.

Jamaica has every thing to fear from a republic of negroes, whose independence she has been compelled to acknowledge.

WHEN the Spaniards were compelled to give up Jamaica to the English, they left behind them a number of negroes and mulattoes, who being weary of their slavery, took a resolution to retire into the mountains, there to preserve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulsion of their tyrants. Having entered into some agreements necessary to preserve their union, they planted maize and cocoa in the most inaccessible places of their retreat. But the impossibility of subsisting till harvest, obliged them to come down into the plain, to pilfer for sustenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to spare, and declared war against them. Many were massacred; the greater part

part submitted, and only fifty or sixty fled back to their **BOOK**
 rock, there to live or die free. **XIV.**

POLICY, which sees every thing, but is never moved by compassion, wanted utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had escaped from slavery or carnage; but the soldiery, who were either perishing or spent with fatigue, did not relish such a destructive scheme, which was still to cost them more blood. It was dropt for fear of a revolt. This condescension was attended with fatal consequences. All the slaves grown desperate by the hardships they underwent, or the dread of punishment, soon found a shelter in the woods, where they were sure of meeting with companions ready to assist them. The number of fugitives increased daily. In a short time they deserted by troops, after having murdered their masters, and stripped and set fire to the habitations. In vain did they send active partisans after them, offering a reward of 900 livres (1) for the head of every negro they should kill. This severity availed them nothing, and the desertion became the more general.

THE rebels grew more daring as their numbers increased. Till the year 1690, they had only fled, but when they thought themselves strong enough to attack, they fell upon the English plantations in separate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loss; in vain were forts erected and manned at proper distances, to prevent their inroads; notwithstanding all this expence, and these precautions, they renewed their depredations from time to time. The resentment, which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy, excited in these blacks, inspired them with such fury, that the white people who had bought them, in order, as they said, to cut off the
 root

(1) 39*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

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root of the evil, resolved in 1735 to employ all the forces of the colony, to destroy a justly implacable enemy.

IMMEDIATELY the military laws took place of all civil administration. All the colonists formed themselves into regular corps. They marched forward towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the blacks had built in the blue mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity and defended without artillery, may soon be destroyed; but the success of the other enterprizes was frequently doubtful, sometimes attended with much loss. The slaves, more elated by one triumph than disheartened by ten defeats, were proud of considering their former tyrants, merely as enemies they were to fight with. If they were beaten, they had at least some revenge. Their blood was at least mixed with that of their barbarous masters. They rushed against the sword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breast. At last, overpowered by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagonists, the fugitives intrenched themselves in inaccessible places, where they dispersed in small bands, fully determined never to stir out, and well assured they could stand their ground. At last, after various battles and excursions, that lasted nine months, the English gave up all thoughts of subduing them.

Thus, sooner or later, will any people, made desperate by tyranny, or the oppression of conquerors, always get the better of numerous and well-disciplined armies; if they have but resolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke, to die rather than live in bondage, and if they chuse rather to see their nation extinct than enslaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops, to the train of war, the display of provisions, ammunition, and hospitals: let them retire into the heart
of

of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without stores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleness, and intemperance, have destroyed those swarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them now and then pour down upon them, like the torrents of their own mountains, surprize them in their tents, and ravage their out-lines. Lastly, let them despise the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be plentifully bestowed upon them by people base enough to arm themselves against a handful of hunters, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

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SUCH was the conduct of the blacks with the English. These, weary of excursions and fruitless armaments, fell into universal despondency. The poorest among them dared not accept the lands which the government offered them at the foot of the mountains. Even the settlements at a greater distance from these formidable blacks, were neglected or forsaken. Many parts of the island, which from their appearance bid fair for being some of the most fruitful, were left in their rude state; and the woods and thickets, with which they were covered, became the terror of the inhabitants, by affording a retreat to the rebels, who were now inured to war.

IN this situation was the colony, when Trolawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander, well knew, that a set of men, who for near a century past, lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an assailant stronger than themselves and well armed, never ceased fighting for the defence of their liberty; that such a set of men would never be subdued by open force. He therefore had recourse to pacific overtures.

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tures. He offered them not only lands to cultivate, which should be their own property, but likewise liberty and independence. He consented that they should be governed by chiefs of their own chusing, but that these chiefs should hold their commissions of the governor of the island, and act under his direction. This plan, unheard of before among negroes, was accepted, and the treaty concluded in 1738, to the joy of both parties. It seemed to promise a lasting tranquillity; but there was something in the stipulation which laid the foundation of future disturbances.

WHILST Trelawney was negotiating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general assembly of the colony had proposed their separate plan to the independent negroes. This was, that they should engage to harbour no more fugitive slaves, on condition that a stipulated sum should be paid them for every such deserter, whom they should inform against, or bring back to the colony. This agreement, repugnant to humanity, we may be sure has not not been religiously observed. They have mutually accused each other of dishonesty. The negroes, but ill paid in this shameful compact, have several times begun their ravages afresh.

WHETHER fired by their example, or exasperated at the ill usage they met with, the negro slaves resolved to be free likewise. Whilst the flames of war kindled in Europe were spreading in America, these wretches agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and seize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty disconcerted the unanimity of the plot. Some of the conspirators began the execution before the appointed time, stabbed their masters, and set fire to their houses; but finding themselves unable to resist the whole force of the island, which their premature exploit had collected

lected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable recess they were incessantly making destructive inroads. The English, in their distress, were reduced to court the assistance of the wild negroes, whose independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a solemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promised a certain sum for every slave they should kill with their own hands. Those base Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not ashamed to sell the blood of their brethren : they pursued them, and killed many of them by surprize. At last the conspirators, weakened and betrayed by their own nation, remained a long time silent and inactive.

THE fire of the conspiracy was thought to be effectually extinguished, when it broke out again with redoubled fury. Their numbers had increased by deserters from the several plantations. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of sailors, all marched in pursuit of the slaves ; they fought and beat them in several skirmishes ; many were slain or taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed into the woods and rocks. All the prisoners were shot, hanged, or burnt. Those who were supposed to be the ringleaders of the conspiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to perish slowly, exposed to the scorching sun of the torrid zone ; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of these miserable wretches, whose only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge those rights which avarice and inhumanity had robbed them of.

THE measures that were taken to prevent future insurrections, were dictated by the same spirit of barbarity. A slave is whipped in the public places if he plays at any game whatsoever, if he presumes to go a hunting, or to sell any thing but milk or fish. He cannot stir out of
his

BOOK his master's plantation, unless attended by a white man, or
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with an express permission in writing. If he beats a drum, or makes use of any other noisy instrument, his master is condemned to pay a penalty of 225 livres (u). Thus do the English, who are so jealous of their own liberty, sport with that of other men. To this excess of barbarity has the negro trade brought the usurpers of America. Such is the progress of injustice and violence. To conquer the new world, its inhabitants must be slaughtered. To replace them, negroes must be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove these Africans from their native country, who were designed to cultivate the land without having any possessions in it, it was necessary to seize them by force, and make them slaves. To keep them in subjection, they must be treated with severity. To prevent their revolt, the natural consequence of severity and servitude, these men whom we have made desperate, must be restrained by capital punishments, by hard usage, and atrocious laws.

BUT cruelty itself has a period in its own destructive nature. In an instant it may cease. An enemy who should be so fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would soon convey arms to these men, who are full of rancour against their oppressors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to rise against them. The French, not considering the revolt of the blacks in one colony, would probably spirit up all the rest, will be the first to bring on such a revolution in time of war. The English, finding themselves between two fires, will be dismayed, their strength and courage will fail them, and Jamaica will fall a prey to slaves and conquerors, who will contend for dominion with fresh enormities. What a train of mischief does injustice

(u) 9*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

justice bring along with it ! Crimes beget crimes ; blood is productive of blood ; and the earth becomes a scene of desolation, tears, and lamentations, where successive generations rise to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the dust.

THE loss of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this island at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ships going from Carthage to the Havannah, must pass that way ; it is more within reach of the several trading ports on the continent, than any other island ; the many excellent roads with which it is surrounded, facilitate the launching of men of war on all sides of the island. These several advantages are balanced by some inconveniences.

If it is easy to get at Jamaica by the trade winds, by taking the lesser Leeward islands, it is not so easy to get out, whether you take the streights of Bahama or the windward passage.

By the first one has the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues ; but as soon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the same wind against us that before was favourable : so that more time is lost than was gained, and there is also a risque of being taken by the guarda costas of the Havannah. This danger is succeeded by another, which is the shoals on the coast of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an English man of war, would infallibly have been lost there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was in time of war, and the port belonged to the enemy. " I come," said the captain to the governor, " to deliver up my ship, my sailors, my soldiers, and myself into your hands ; I only ask the lives of my men." " No," said

BOOK said the Spanish commander, "I will not be guilty of so
 XIV. dishonorable an action. Had we taken you in fight,
 " in open sea, or upon our coasts, your ship would be
 " ours, and you would be our prisoners. But as you
 " are driven in by stress of weather, and are come hi-
 " ther for fear of being cast away, I do and ought to
 " forget that my nation is at war with yours. You are
 " men, and so are we: you are in distress, and have a
 " right to our pity. You are at liberty to unload and
 " refit your vessel, and if you want it, you may trade in
 " this port to pay your charges; you may then go away,
 " and you will have a pass to carry you safe beyond the
 " Bermudas. If after this you are taken, you will be a
 " lawful prize; but at this moment, I see in English-
 " men only strangers for whom humanity claims our
 " assistance." What a noble instance of Spanish gene-
 rosity is this!

The other way is attended with no less difficulty and danger. It terminates at a small island, that the English call crooked island, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come that way must commonly strive against the easterly wind through the whole passage, coast along close under St. Domingo, to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then pass the straits, between the points of these two great islands, where it is very difficult to escape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucay's do not meet with these obstructions.

Settlement
 of the
 English at
 Lucay's or
 Bahama is-
 lands.

THESE islands, the first which Columbus discovered in America, are four or five hundred in number. Most of them are no more than rocks just above water. Some were inhabited by savages, who were all sent to perish in the mines of St. Domingo. Not one of them had a single inhabitant in 1672, when the English landed a few

men

men on that called Providence, who were all destroyed by the Spaniards seven or eight years after. This disaster did not deter other Englishmen from settling there in 1690. They had scarce built 160 houses, when the French and Spaniards jointly fell upon them in 1703, destroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes. The colonists, discouraged by the total loss of their substance, went elsewhere to seek employment, and were succeeded by pirates of their nation, who after scouring the coasts of Africa, the remotest seas of Asia, and chiefly the latitudes of North-America, found a safe and commodious retreat in the island. Here they lived unmolested for a long time, insulting even the British flag, till George I. roused by the clamours of his people, and the wishes of his parliament, in 1719, fitted out a sufficient force to subdue them. The greater part accepted the proffered amnesty, and increased the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

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It may now consist of 3000 persons, half of whom are settled at Providence, and the rest dispersed in the other islands. Accustomed to live upon plunder, they retained too much of their former dispositions, and this accounts for the negligent and languid state of their agriculture; though the variety of their soil is a constant incentive to their industry, their ambition, and even their fancies. 'It is well known, that in general it is not fertile, but there are parts sufficiently rich to insure the property of a greater population. These islands, which for want of productions have hitherto been useless to Great-Britain, may in time be serviceable from their situation, if they are not in point of trade.

THE Lucay's, which on one side are separated from Florida only by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long ridge, which terminates nearly at the point

BOOK of Cuba. There some other islands, called Caicos, or
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Turks begin, lately brought under the yoke of the English navy, which continue the chain as far as the middle of the northern coast of St. Domingo. Between these several islands, there are five passages for first-rate ships. Turk's island and the great Caicos have lately been fortified by the English, so that they afford a good anchorage and a safe retreat to their privateers, and command the narrow channel, which divides them from St. Domingo. By this means most of the ships coming from that rich island, must fall into the hands of the English. If they have not built any forts on the other islands, it is because they think the superiority of their manœuvres is sufficient without this assistance, to obstruct the navigation of their rivals. They are not so sanguine in their expectations with regard to Bermudas.

Settlement
 of the
 English at
 the Ber-
 mudas.

THIS cluster of islands, distant about 300 leagues from the Leeward islands, was discovered in 1527 by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave it his name, but did not land there. Never had this number of islands been inhabited by any human being, when sixty Englishmen landed there in 1612. The population increased considerably, because the advantages of the climate were greatly exaggerated. People went thither from the Leeward islands for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royalists retired there in expectation of the death of their oppressor Cromwell. Waller among the rest, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, crossed the seas, and celebrated those fortunate islands, inspired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the prospects, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthusiasm to the fair sex. The English ladies never thought them-
 selves

themselves fine or well dressed, but in small Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

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BUT at last the charm was broken, and these islands fell into that contempt which their insignificance deserved. They are very numerous, and their whole compass is but six or seven leagues. The soil is very indifferent, and has not a single spring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and cisterns. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholesome food, but they have no commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate sky, four or five thousand inhabitants, poor, but happy in being unobserved. They have no outward connections but by some ships passing from the northern to the southern colonies, which sometimes stop to take refreshments in these peaceful islands.

SOME attempts have been made to improve the circumstances of these people by industry. It has been wished that they would try to raise silk; then cochineal, and lastly, that they would plant vineyards. But these schemes have been only thought of. These islanders, consulting their own happiness, have confined their sedentary arts to the weaving of sails. This manufactory, so well adapted to plain and moderate men, grows daily more and more flourishing.

FOR upwards of a century past, they have also built ships at the Bermudas, that are not to be equalled for swiftness and durability, and are in great request, especially for privateers. They are made of a kind of cedar, called by the French Acajou. They have endeavoured to imitate them at Jamaica and in the Bahama islands, where they had plenty of materials, which were grown scarce and dear in the old docks; but these ships are, and must be far inferior to their models.

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THE principal inhabitants of the Bermuda islands have formed a society in 1765, the statutes of which are; perhaps, the most respectable monument that ever dignified humanity. These virtuous citizens have engaged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they have been written; to procure to all capable persons, of both sexes, an employment suitable to their disposition; to bestow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a pension to every daily workman, who after having assiduously continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, shall not have been able to lay by a stock sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly, to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda, who shall have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.

MAY these advantages ever be preserved to these industrious though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted. They enjoy the benefits of a pure and serene sky, with health and with peace of mind. The poison of luxury has never infected them. They are not themselves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguished upon their coasts, as the storms of the ocean that surround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly cross the seas to enjoy the sight of their frugality. They are totally unacquainted with what passes in the part of the world we live in, and it will be happy for them to remain in their ignorance.

ENGLAND drew from all her flourishing colonies but just sugar enough for her own consumption, and only part of the coffee and cotton that was wanted at home, no cocoa, and no indigo. Her late conquests in America have enriched

riched her commerce with some additional articles of ex-
portation.

At the head of her new acquisitions stands the island of Tobago, which measures about thirty leagues round. It is not, as most of the other Caribbee islands, full of barren rocks, or unwholesome morasses. Fine even plains are here crowned with hills, whose gentle ascent is every where fit for tillage. From these hills flow innumerable springs, most of which seem purposely intended to turn the sugar-mills. The soil, which is sometimes sandy, is constantly black and deep. There are safe and commodious harbours along the north and west sides of the island, which is not exposed to those dreadful hurricanes that are so destructive in other parts. Possibly, it owes this inestimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

TOBAGO has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit tradition; but its authority is rather doubtful. The inhabitants long withstood the fierce and frequent attacks of the savages from the continent, who were stubborn and irreconcilable enemies. At last, wearied out with these incessant inroads, they dispersed into the adjacent islands.

THAT which they had forsaken, lay open to invasion from Europe. Two hundred natives of Flessingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of Trinity island, to oppose an establishment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to stop their fury, was murdered or taken prisoner; and the few who escaped into the woods, soon deserted the island.

FOR twenty years the Dutch forgot a settlement which was only noted for the disasters of its origin. In 1654, a fresh colony was sent there, which was driven away in 1666. The English were soon deprived of this conquest

BOOK by the French; but Lewis XIV. satisfied with having
 XIV. conquered it, restored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This settlement succeeded no better than the other farming colonies of that commercial nation. The motives that determine so many persons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every possible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchased like their liberty, with rivers of blood, at last leaves conscience free, so that no religious scruples can induce timorous minds to banish themselves from their native country. The government makes such ample provision for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are under a necessity of going abroad, and exposing themselves to the hardships of a climate, which seldom fails to destroy the new comers. Tobago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton and indigo, and of six sugar plantations.

THE colony was confined to this scanty exertion of industry, when it was attacked by the very same nation that had restored it to its former rights of possession and property. In the month of February 1677, a French fleet, destined to seize upon Tobago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was sent out to oppose this expedition. They engaged in the very road of the island, which became famous from this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obstinacy and valour on both sides was such, that they still continued fighting, when every ship was dismasted, and unrigged, and no sailors left to work them. The engagement did not cease till twelve vessels were burnt, and a great number sunk. The assailers lost the fewest men, and the defendants kept possession of the island.

BUT

BUT d'Estrees, who was determined to take it, landed there the same year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obstruct or retard his progress. A bomb thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a decisive stroke; and the enemy, unable to resist, surrendered at discretion. The conquerors availed themselves to the utmost of the right of war: not content with dismantling the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, seized upon all the ships in the harbour, and transported the inhabitants from the island. The conquest of this place was secured to France by the peace that soon followed an action in which defeat was attended with no marks of disgrace and victory with no advantage.

THE court of Versailles neglected this important island to such a degree, as not to send a single man thither. Perhaps, in the delirium of false grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever was merely profitable. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tobago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who finding themselves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the islands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica. These were precarious possessions, and not very eligible as to the soil. Should not the preference naturally have been given to an island where the land was better, and the property incontestable? Such was the reasoning of a government, which was not then sufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to discern the true motives of this dislike the subjects had to Tobago.

AN infant colony, especially when it is founded with slender means, cannot subsist without immediate assistance. No progress is to be expected, but as the first pro-

BOOK XIV. **Productions find consumers.** The productions are generally of a common sort, will not pay the charges of exportation to any distance, and, therefore, will hardly sell but in the neighbourhood, and ought insensibly and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of those great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward islands. Now, Tobago is too remote from the great French settlements, to attract inhabitants by such a gradation of success. They will give the preference to less fruitful islands, that are within reach of other colonies.

THE low condition into which it was fallen did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud island, which thinks herself the queen of all others, because she is the most flourishing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tobago, because it had once been in her possession for six months. Her forces have confirmed her pretensions, and the peace of 1763 has justified the success of her arms, by ceding to her a possession which she will turn to better account than the French ever did.

ALMOST all the settlements in the Leeward islands have proved fatal to the first colonists, who acting at a venture, without the concurrence of the mother country, committed perpetual blunders. Their greediness would not suffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a constant scorching sun, used to separate the small parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large spaces covered with trees and shady thickets. These savages, instructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preserve themselves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

THE destroyers of this wise people, being too eager after their profits, despised this method as too slow, and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole forests. Upon this thick vapours arose from the ground, which at first was heated by the rays of the sun. These increased as the earth was stirred up for sowing and planting. Their malignant particles insinuated themselves into every pore, and every organ of the husbandman, who by hard labour was constantly kept in a profuse perspiration. The circulation of the fluids was stopped, all the viscera were dilated, the body swelled, the stomach could no longer perform its functions, and death ensued. Those who escaped these pestilential influences by day, lost their lives by sleeping in huts hastily run up upon a fresh soil, where vegetation was too active, and so unwholesome that it consumed the men before it could nourish the plants.

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FROM these observations it appears, that the following would be the best plan which could be pursued in the establishing of a new colony. At our first arrival, it should be observed what winds are most common in those parts, and it would be found that they blow regularly from the south-east and north-east. If we were at liberty to chuse, and met with no obstacle from the nature of the ground, we should take care not to fix on the leeward side, lest the wind should be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect from the exhalations of the new plantations a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony should, therefore, be founded on the windward side of whatever country we mean to cultivate. First all the habitations should be built in the wood, and not a tree be suffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholesome; the refreshing shade they afford, and the cool air we breathe,
even

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Even in the heat of the day, are a preservative against that excessive perspiration, which is the destruction of most Europeans, by the dryness and acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of its fluid parts. We should keep fires in the huts all night, to dispel any noxious air that might have entered. This custom which is constantly practised in some parts of Africa, would be as successful in America, where the climate is much the same.

AFTER having taken these precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods, but it should be at least at fifty toises distance from the huts. When the ground was laid bare, the slaves should not be sent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the sun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours lost after sun rise, would be fully compensated by sparing the strength of the labourers, and the preservation of human kind. This attention should be continued as long as any lands are clearing or fowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and settled, when the people might with safety be out at all hours. Experience has already justified the necessity of all these measures.

THE English having first settled on the leeward side of Tobago, they died in great numbers, and lost a great number of slaves, tho' they all came at the same time from the neighbouring colonies. Grown wiser by this disaster, they removed to windward, and the mortality ceased. This settlement, which was to have been entered upon immediately after the peace, has been greatly retarded, because the custom that prevails in England, of selling the lands of their islands, is attended with numberless forms, which have prevented the clearing of them. It was not till the year 1766 that 40,000 acres of land have been allotted, divided into lots of 500 acres each. A second allotment

allotment has since been made, but in both, no one planter has been allowed to purchase more than one lot. This law has extended to St. Vincent and Dominica, with this difference only, that in the last island, the lots were but of 300 acres. In all the three acquisitions, the land has sold but for 22, or 28 livres (*w*) an acre. The purchase money has been paid by instalments. One fifth was paid down at the time; ten per cent. the two first years, and afterwards twenty per cent. till the whole was discharged. Every planter is also obliged to find a white man and two white women for every hundred acres he shall clear. But here a difficulty occurs. The English, by putting two women and but one man upon a plantation, bring themselves into the dilemma of either leaving one woman without a husband, or the man with two wives. This is either admitting polygamy, which christianity forbids, or celibacy, which protestants will not allow: for it is not to be supposed that in America the English will chuse to intermarry with the blacks. However this may be, every planter must comply with this injunction, or forfeit 450 livres (*x*) for every woman, and double that sum for every man that is wanting.

NOTWITHSTANDING this kind of restraint, the disposition of the English leaves no room to doubt, but that Tobago will emerge in their hands from the utmost wretchedness, to the greatest degree of prosperity. At that brilliant period, it will surpass all the possessions they have acquired in America, in excellence and the abundance of its productions. Those speculators who are best acquainted with the nature of the soil, and best able to judge what it is capable of producing in proportion to its extent, make no scruple to affirm, that the island will yield 50,000 hogsheds of raw sugar yearly to the mother

(*w*) 19*s*. 3*d*. or 2*l*. 4*s*. 6*d*.

(*x*) 19*l*. 13*s*. 9*d*.

BOOK XIV. mother country, besides other articles of lesser value. In short, it will surpass Jamaica, and increase the wealth of Grenada.

France
cedes Gre-
nada to
England.
Import-
tance and
produce of
that island.

THE island of Grenada lies to leeward of Tobago, is but nine or ten leagues long, seven broad in the widest part, and twenty or twenty two in circumference. The plains are intersected by a few mountains of a moderate height, and a prodigious number of pretty large springs. There is so capacious a harbour to leeward, that sixty men of war may ride there with ease, and with so much safety, that they might save themselves the trouble of casting anchor.

THOUGH the French, acquainted with the fertility of Grenada, had intended settling there, as early as the year 1638, yet they never brought this project to bear till 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, some knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the savages they found there; and imagining they had purchased the island with these trifles, actually assumed the sovereignty, and soon became tyrants. The Caribbees, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakness always inspires to repel oppression; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceless. The troops that were sent to support the infant colony, found no safer or readier way than to destroy all the natives. The remainder of these poor wretches took refuge upon a steep rock, chusing rather to cast themselves down headlong from the top, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconsiderately called this rock *le morne des sauteurs*, the hill of the leapers; and it still retains that name.

THEY were justly punished for all these cruelties by a rapacious, violent and inflexible governor. Most of the colonists, no longer able to endure his tyranny, retired

tired to Martinico, and those who remained on the island B O O K
condemned him to death after a formal trial. In the X I V.
whole court that tried this miscreant, only one could write, whose name was Archangeli. A blacksmith was the person that impeached, who, instead of the signature, sealed with a horseshoe, and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it: *marque de Monsieur de la Brie, conseiller rapporteur.*

THEY were apprehensive the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary trial, carried on with such unusual formalities, though dictated by common sense. Most of the judges of the crime, and witnesses of the execution disappeared from Grenada. None remained but such obscure people as were beneath the notice of the laws. The estimate taken in 1700 shews, that there were on the island but 251 white people, 53 free savages or mulattoes, and 525 slaves. The cattle was reduced to 64 horses, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture consisted of three plantations of sugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

THE face of things was quite changed towards the year 1714; and this was owing to Martinico. That island was then laying the foundation of a splendour that was to astonish all nations. It sent immense productions to France, and received choice commodities in return. The most valuable of these they sent to the Spanish coasts. Their ships touched at Grenada in their way to take in refreshments. The trading privateers who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that island the value of their soil, which only wanted tillage. Commerce makes every thing easy. Some traders furnished them with slaves and implements to erect new sugar plantations. An open account was established between the two colonies. Grenada was clearing its debts gradually
by

BOOK by its rich produce, and the balance was on the point of
 { **XIV.** being fully made up, when the war in 1744 cut off the
 communication between the two islands, and at the same
 time stopped the progress of the sugar plantations. They
 supplied this loss by the culture of coffee, which they
 pursued, during the hostilities, with all the activity and
 eagerness that industry could inspire.

THE peace of 1748 revived all the labours, and opened all the former sources of wealth. In 1753, the population of Grenada consisted of 1,262 white people; 175 free negroes; and 11,991 slaves. The cattle amounted to 2,298 horses or mules; 2,456 head of horned cattle; 3,278 sheep; 902 goats; 331 hogs. The cultivation rose to 83 sugar plantations; 2,725,600 coffee trees; 150,300 cocoa trees, and 800 cotton plants. For their provision they had 5,740,450 trenches of cassada; 933,596 banana trees, and 143 squares of potatoes and yams. The colony made a rapid progress in proportion to the excellence of its soil. Those obstinate fevers and dropries which for thirty years had consumed the men as fast as they cut down the woods, would have subsided when the whole had been cleared. But the French have lost their hopes and their treasures. They will no longer enjoy the wealth of Grenada. They deserve, however, the misfortunes that have baffled their too tardy precautions. They are passionately fond of premature and unbounded enjoyment: that malady, that has tainted the government of a nation which yet deserves the affection of her masters; that prodigality, which reaps when it should sow; which destroys the past with one hand, and the future with the other, which dries up and devours the stock by anticipating the income; that confusion, which results from the distresses any state must bring itself into, that has neither principles nor experience, that has powers
 and

and no views, means, and no conduct; that anarchy ^{BOOK} which prevails at the helm; that precipitation; that cab- ^{XIV.} balling among inferiors; the impropriety or total want of projects; on one hand, the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of speaking, even for the public good: this long train of evils has thrown Grenada into the hands of the English, who are in possession of this conquest by the treaty of 1763. How long will this last? And will the colony never be restored to us?

ENGLAND has not set out properly. In the first enthusiasm raised by an acquisition which they had the highest opinion of, every one was in a hurry to purchase estates. They sold for much more than their real value. This caprice, by driving out old colonists, who were inured to the climate, has sent thirty-five or thirty-six millions of livres (y) out of the nation. This imprudence has been followed by another. The new proprietors, blinded no doubt, by national pride, have substituted new methods to those of their predecessors. They chose to alter the way of the slaves. The negroes, who, from their very ignorance, are more attached to their old customs than other men, revolted. They have been obliged to send out troops, and to shed blood. The whole colony was filled with suspicion. The masters who had laid themselves under a necessity of using violent methods, were afraid of being murdered in their own plantations, or burnt in their beds. The work has gone on slowly, or been quite stopped. At length all grew calm again. The number of slaves has been increased as far as 40,000; and the produce has been raised to the treble of what it was under the French government.

THE

(y) On an average about 1,553,000*l*.

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THE plantations will still be improved by the neighbourhood of a dozen of islands, called the Grenadines, that are dependent on the colony. They are from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a single spring of water. The air is unwholesome; the ground covered only with thin bushes, has not been screened from the sun: it exhales none of those noxious vapours which are fatal to the husbandman.

CARIACOU, the only one of the Grenadines which the French have occupied, was at first frequented by turtle fishermen, who, in the leisure afforded them by so easy a trade, employed themselves in clearing the ground. In process of time their small number was increased by the accession of some of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who finding that their plantations were destroyed by a particular sort of ants, removed to Cariacou. There they enjoyed the sweets of liberty, and their industry was crowned with success. They collected about twelve hundred slaves, by whose labours they made themselves a revenue of four or five hundred thousand livres (z) in cotton.

THE other Grenadines are not so promising, though the plantation of sugar is begun there. It has succeeded remarkably well at Becouya, the largest and most fertile of these islands, which is no more than two leagues distant from St. Vincent.

The English take possession of St. Vincent. Customs of the savages they found in this island.

WHEN the English and French, who for some years had been ravaging the Windward islands, began to give some consistence to their settlements, in the year 1660, they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent should be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of these savages, who till then had been dispersed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There these quiet and

(z) On an average 19,690*l*.

and moderate men, lovers of peace and silence, lived in the woods, in scattered families under the guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion passed successively into every family, where the oldest always became the king, that is to say, the guide and father of the nation. These ignorant savages were still unacquainted with the sublime art of subduing and governing men by force of arms; of murdering the inhabitants of a country to get possession of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and in process of time, to strip both of the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

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THE population of these children of nature was suddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whose origin was never positively ascertained. It is said that a ship, carrying negroes for sale foundered on the coast of St. Vincent, and the slaves who escaped from the wreck, were received as brethren by the savages. Others pretend that these blacks were deserters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition says, that this foreign race comes from the blacks that the Caribs took from the Spaniards, in the first wars between those Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre the oldest historian that has written on the Leeward islands, those terrible savages, who were so inveterate against their masters, spared the captive slaves, restored them to liberty that they might enjoy life, that is, the common blessings of nature, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

THIS was not all. The proprietors of the island gave their daughters, in marriage to these strangers, and the race that sprang from this mixture, were called black Caribs. They have preserved more of the primitive colour of their

BOOK fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The
XIV. red Caribs are of a low stature ; the black Caribs tall and stout ; and this doubly savage race speak with a vehemence that looks like anger.

IN time, however, some differences arose between the two nations. The people of Martinico, perceiving this, resolved to take advantage of their divisions, and rise on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave shelter to the slaves who deserted from the French islands. Imposture is always productive of injustice. Those who were falsely accused, were afterwards attacked without reason. But the smallness of the numbers sent out against them ; the jealousy of those who were appointed to command the expedition ; the defection of the red Caribs, who refused to supply such dangerous allies with any of the succours they had promised them, to act against their rivals ; the impossibility of coming up with enemies who kept themselves concealed in woods and mountains ; all these circumstances conspired to disconcert this rash and violent enterprize. They were forced to give it up, after losing many valuable lives ; but the triumph the savages obtained, did not prevent them from suing for peace as suppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, swearing sincere friendship and inviolable concord. The proposal was agreed to ; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

THE first who came thither, settled peaceably, not only with the consent, but by the assistance of the red Caribs. This success induced others to follow their example ; but these, whether from jealousy or some other motive, taught the savages a secret that proved very fatal to them. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, because they are the reward of labour, learnt with astonishment,

ment, that they could sell the earth itself, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to measure, and fix boundaries ; and from that instant peace and happiness were banished from their island. The partition of lands occasioned divisions amongst men. These were the causes of the revolution produced by this system of property. BOOK
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WHEN the French came to St. Vincent, they brought slaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, shocked at the thoughts of resembling men who were degraded by slavery, and fearing that some time or other their colour which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enslaving them, took refuge in the thickest parts of the forest. In this situation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of distinction upon their tribe, that might be a standing token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as soon as they were born. The men and women, whose heads would not bend to this strange shape, dared no longer appear in public without this visible sign of freedom. The next generation started up as a new race. The flat headed Caribs, who were nearly of the same age, tall proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the sea-side.

THEY no sooner knew the price which the Europeans set upon the lands they inhabited, but they claimed a share with the other islanders. This rising spirit of covetousness was at first appeased by some presents of brandy, and a few sabres. But not content with these, they soon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had ; and at last they were desirous of having their share in all future sales of land, and likewise in the produce of past sales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a separate tribe, swore never more to asso-

BOOK ciate with the red Caribs, chose a chief of their own and
XIV. declared war.

THE numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their strength was not so. The black Caribs had all that advantage over the red, that industry, valour, and boldness, must soon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous disposition. But that spirit of equity, which is seldom deficient in savages, made the conqueror consent to share with the vanquished all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties coveted, because there they were sure of getting presents from the French.

THE black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themselves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the island, always landed and settled near the red Caribs, where the coast was most accessible. This preference roused that enmity which was but ill extinguished. The war again broke out. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the island. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent or to Tobago; and the few that remained, lived separate from the blacks.

THE black Caribs, conquerors and masters of all the leeward coast, required of the Europeans that they should again buy the lands they had already purchased. A Frenchman attempted to shew the deed of his purchase of some land, which he had bought of a red Carib. *I know not, says a black Carib, what thy paper says; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may see in characters which do not lye, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your house to-night.* In this manner did a people, who had not learnt to read, argue with those who derived such consequence from knowing how to write. They made use of the right of force, with as much assurance, and as little remorse, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

TIME,

TIME, which brings on a change of measures with a BOOK
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change of interests, put an end to these disturbances.

The French no longer spent their time in breeding poultry, raising vegetables, cassada, maize and tobacco, in order to sell them at Martinico. In less than twenty years, more important cultures employed 800 white men and 3000 blacks. The yearly sale of these new commodities amounted to 1,500,000 livres(*a*). The island of St. Vincent was in this situation when it fell into the hands of the English. It was secured to them by the treaty of 1763.

THE French, who had begun to clear this country, which till then had always remained uncultivated, entertained not the least doubt as to their title to the lands. They held their property of the original inhabitants, who might, perhaps, have disposed of a territory which nature had given them. How great was their surprize, when they were informed that Great-Britain, which was in no treaty either with them or with the Caribs, thought herself authorized to strip them, unless they would redeem those very fields they had cultivated with their own hands, and founded her right on principles adopted in Europe! In vain did they remonstrate against an oppression so contrary to the order of nature, and even to the law of nations. Their complaints were disregarded. The chief men of the colony dared not suspend the orders sent from the mother-country, to sell the lands indiscriminately. The parliament proposed by this trifling profit, to supply the deficiencies which the expences of the war had made in the treasury. But this end was not answered. The 1,575,000 livres(*b*), which arose from the concessions made in the three neutral islands, were almost wholly dissipated in vain formalities. If even the axiom of the Europeans, that false and

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(*a*) 65,625*l*.

(*b*) Near 69,000*l*.

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barbarous axiom, that the lands inhabited by savages are to be considered as vacant could have been rejected by the English, who, like the Spaniards, had so often availed themselves of it, to make usurpations; if the French had not had a right to purchase, what they had at least had a right to steal; if they had not by their labour acquired a lawful title to those lands which they had obtained by presents, in short, if the public treasury of England, exhausted by a war that was, perhaps, unjust, was to be replenished by the extorsions of the peace, and the profits of these unlawful sales: still it was contrary to their own interest and to their principles of political œconomy, thus to plunder industrious men, who should have accelerated the improvement of a colony which they themselves had founded.

BUT the severity of the new established government made them disperse. Some went over to St. Martin, Marigalante, Guadalupe, and Martinico, but the greater part to St. Lucia, which began to be peopled by granting lands to those who would clear them. They all brought away their slaves. The emigration, however, was not universal. Some Frenchmen, less attached to their relations, and less fond of their own country, which had in a manner cast them off, chose to remain under the yoke of the conqueror on the fertile spot where fortune had thrown them. When the emotions of discontent were passed, they considered they should gain more by redeeming their own lands, than by settling upon fresh grounds that would cost them nothing.

THEIR fortune, which had never yet been upon any solid foundation, must acquire firmness and vigour under the protection of English government. The island, which they share with their new fellow-citizens, tho' it does not promise much cotton, is very favourable to the culture of the arnotto and cocoa. Before the conquest, they gathered
three

three million weight of coffee, the culture of which might with ease be considerably increased, if the attention of the English was not totally engaged in the plantation of sugar. That part of St. Vincent they were settled in which is on the leeward side, supplied them only with a small quantity, because it is rugged and hilly. This circumstance made them desirous of occupying the plains on the windward side. The Caribs, who had taken refuge there, have refused to vacate them, and the English have had recourse to arms to compel them to it. Though they defend themselves with great courage, they will sooner or later submit to the yoke of European tyranny. May the flames of war not extend themselves to Dominica!

THIS island is somewhat larger than St. Vincent. It is thirteen leagues in length, and nine at most in breadth; and in the center are inaccessible mountains, which pour down numerous rivers of excellent water, upon fruitful but uneven grounds.

The English establish themselves at Dominica. Design of this establishment.

THIS country was inhabited by its own children. In 1732, 938 Caribs were found there, living in 32 carbets, and 349 French people lived in a district by the sea-side which the Caribs had forsaken. These Europeans had no other assistance, or rather companions of their labours, but 23 free mulattoes, and 338 slaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raising provisions for the consumption of Martinico, and cultivating 72,200 cotton shrubs. These trifling productions were afterwards enriched by the addition of coffee. At last, the island contained 600 white people, and 2000 blacks, at the peace of 1763, when it became an English colony.

BEFORE the end of the last century, Great-Britain, who was advancing towards the dominion of the seas, whilst she accused France of grasping at the monarchy

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of the continent, had shewed as much eagerness for Dominica as she did in the late negociations, when victory gave her a right to chuse. It was not for the sake of coffee, cocoa, or cotton, which, however, the English may multiply there beyond their hopes, nor yet for the sake of sugar, of which they must not expect more than three or four thousand hogsheads a year, and that only in process of time. An object of greater importance than settlements for cultivation, entered into their distant political views.

The point that the English aimed at, was to draw all the commodities of the French colonies to Dominica, and to trade with them themselves; and, indeed, till the nation, whose fortune has sunk with her glory, can recover her activity, and by the strength of her navy can be enabled in some measure to settle the price of her commodities, and prevent their being conveyed from their settlements by a contraband trade: till that auspicious time comes, the reciprocal interest of the French planters and the English merchants will baffle all the endeavours of the court of Versailles. The intercourse will be kept up by means of the old colonists remaining at Dominica, notwithstanding the hard usage they met with in being treated by the new government like those of St. Vincent. This is not, however, the only complaint they have against the English ministry. Whilst they made every harbour in the island a free port, they have laid a duty of thirty-three livres, fifteen sous (c) upon every negro that should be imported; have even carried their imprudent avidity so far, as to require a part of this absurd tax to be paid before the sale: so that the Guinea traders must bring money to Dominica, or borrow it there upon extravagant terms; which must make them cautious

(c) 1*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

cautious of coming, or enhance the price of the commodity; BOOK
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a price low indeed in the eyes of humanity, but already
too high in those of avarice.

BUT the great advantage of this island for the English, is its being situated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at a small distance from each, so as to be equally alarming to both. Its safe and commodious roads will enable the English privateers and squadrons to intercept without risque the navigation of France in her colonies, and even the communication between the two islands. England seems to have secured at the peace every defile and every post against the next war. Let us now resume the examination of her possessions. When we speak of a maritime and commercial power, an inquiry into the value of its colonies, is taking an estimate of its strength.

THE number of slaves employed in the English islands, Present
state of the
British if-
lands. is about 230,000; but their labour produces less than the like number in the French colonies. This difference may be owing to three several causes. The soil of the British settlements was originally worse, and is now more exhausted by long culture. The care of the plantations is commonly committed to mercenaries, who are neither so diligent, so intelligent, nor so economical as the proprietors. The methods of clearing and improving the lands have not yet attained to the same degree of perfection.

THE population of white people in the French colonies in proportion to the blacks, is as one to six; whereas in the English colonies it is seldom more than one to eleven. The reason is, that the latter are confined to agriculture, and the former embrace both agriculture and trade. As they are both however carried on at Barbadoes that deals in slaves, and at Jamaica that has formed contraband connections with the Spanish coasts,

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coasts, the white population should be greater there in proportion to the black, than in the other settlements under the same dependence.

THIS disproportion between the black and white people has not always been the same in the English colonies. They formerly contained a great number of Europeans, but they have disappeared, as the lesser cultures have made way for sugar plantations, which take up a great deal of room. They are successively gone over to new islands, have retired to North America, or have returned to the mother country. Not but there were as many indigent and idle men in England as at the time of the first emigrations from Europe to America; but the spirit of adventure and enterprize, which was raised by the novelty of the object and other concurring circumstances, far from being encouraged, has been stifled by the planters. In vain did the laws require every proprietor to have a number of white men proportionable to the blacks upon his plantation; these regulations were ineffectual. They chuse rather to run the risque of paying the penalty, which costs them less than their compliance. But the deficiency in the number of white men is compensated by the advantages they enjoy.

ALL the inhabitants of the English islands are regimented. This subjection, which neither exposes them to the caprices of a governor, nor to the insulting pride of regular troops, neither degrades nor offends any body. If this militia is inferior in point of discipline to the European soldiery, they far exceed them in ardor and courage. If their numbers were sufficient to cope with an enemy whose government is almost a military one, they would save the mother country the trouble of sending troops, at an immense expence and great risques, who for the most part perish without doing any thing. But this militia of
the

the colonies is hardly sufficient to keep the blacks in awe, who are always ready to rise and cannot brook the English yoke; for it should seem that slavery was more intolerable in a free nation, where it is more unjust and more inconsistent with its character than in others. It is strange that man who is so fond of independence, should no sooner shake off the yoke, but he wants to put it on the necks of others, and that those who are most impatient of controul, should be the fondest of dominion.

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THOUGH Great Britain has never laid any direct tax upon her colonies, they are more heavily taxed than those which belong to less moderate governments. Left to shift for themselves, they have been obliged to provide for their own safety, and to guard against the disasters caused by the great commotions of nature which are so frequent in those climates. Forced to repair the mischiefs of war, and to put themselves in a posture of defence, they have erected fortifications by voluntary contributions; these have been large, but ruinous by the debts they have been obliged to contract. The civil administration, in manifest contradiction to the republican spirit of disinterested œconomy, has always been very expensive, and public business has never been transacted but for money. This is an unavoidable evil that attends a trading people, whether free or not; they ultimately love or value nothing but money. The thirst of gold, being more the work of imagination than of necessity, it does not satisfy our desires like the gratification of our other passions. These are unconnected and transient; they are at variance or succeed each other; whereas the thirst of gold feeds and gratifies all the others, or at least it supplies them, and at the same time wears them out, by procuring the means of indulging them. No habit increases so fast as that of amassing wealth; it seems to be alike excited by the enjoyments
of

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of vanity, and the self-denial of avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or enlarge his treasure. Constant experience verifies this, both in individuals and nations. Since great fortunes have been made in England by trade, the desire of riches is become the grand spring of action, and the universal passion. Such citizens as either could not or would not embrace that most lucrative of all employments, still have an eye to that lucre which the manners and opinion of the times has made necessary. Even in aspiring to honours they hunt after riches. In their attachment to those laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to assist each other, even in obtaining the honour of sitting in parliament, they have found the way to aggrandize their fortune. In order to carry their election into this powerful body, they have bribed the people, and afterwards have no more been ashamed to sell these very people to the court, than they were to have bought them. Every vote in parliament is become venal. A famous minister always kept a book of rates, and openly boasted of it, to the disgrace of the nation. It was the duty of his place, he said, to buy off the representatives of the nation, to make them vote, not against, but according to their conscience. But what can conscience plead against the allurements of gain? If the mercantile spirit has been capable of infecting the mother-country with the contagion of self-interest, how should it not prevail in the colonies, of which it is the principle and the support? Is it then true, that in proud Albion, a man who should be generous enough to serve his country for the mere love of glory, would be looked upon as a man of another world and of the past age? If so, her enemies have nothing to do but, on their side, to shake off this mean spirit, and they will one day recover from her all they have lost.

YET, notwithstanding the enormous contributions and public expences in the English settlements, their lands
still

still sell at a very high price. The Europeans and Americans vie with each other in buying them, and this competition enhances their value. They are allured by the certainty of finding a better market for their commodities in the mother-country, than other nations can have elsewhere. Besides, the English islands are less exposed to invasion and devastation, than others that are rich in productions and poor in ships. The navigation of a people born for the sea, supports itself by its own strength, in war as well as in peace.

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THAT nation takes every method to enhance the value of its islands. In 1766 they took off the duty of four and a half *per cent.* on all sugars exported, and likewise the duties on all other commodities. This exemption has been extended to the productions of other islands brought into their own. The government has done more. It has undertaken to defray the charges of the garrisons that are to protect the new conquests, which amount to 219,427 livres (*d*). Thus the treasury supports trade, in order to increase its prosperity.

THE connections of the English islands are greatly confined. No foreign ship is suffered to land, but at Jamaica and Dominica, which were made free ports in 1766. The severity of the laws prevents the governors from eluding this important prohibition. All intercourse with the several nations of Europe, has always been forbidden them; and in 1739, when they were permitted to carry their sugars directly to the foreign markets, it was under such restrictions as made it impracticable. It is the interest of the mother-country to reserve the whole produce of her islands for her own consumption or her own trade. The following is the way in which they are distributed.

What are
the out-
ward con-
nections of
the British
islands.

THESE

(*d*) About 9,600*l.*

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THESE colonies have never produced provisions for their inhabitants, whether white or black. They afford neither wood, cattle, nor salt-fish. They are supplied with these necessaries from New-England, and send in exchange, rum, pimento, ginger, few other commodities, but great quantities of melasses, which is used there instead of sugar. The New-England people were never allowed to fetch sugar in kind from the islands, lest the cheapness of the commodity should induce them to neglect melasses, and to draw other articles in payment for those that were sent them from the northern colonies. The mother country was very sensible, that sugars sent from America to England, and back again from England to America, would find but few purchasers; but this consideration did not stop her. Her chief view was, not to sell a commodity to the northern colonies which she could readily dispose of in Europe; and particularly to secure the consumption of melasses, that she might appropriate to herself all the rich produce of her islands. But the measures that were taken to secure this important end, were singularly opposed.

FRANCE, which fortunately was possessed of the richest islands in the West-Indies, by that imprudence which has always checked the progress of her fortune, never thought of sending her melasses and rum to her northern settlements. This bad policy drew the New-England people to the French islands. They brought them meal, vegetables, wood, salt-fish, cattle, and even money, and fetched away indigo, cotton, sugar, which they found means to send over to England, and chiefly all their melasses for their own consumption. It is demonstrable that as early as the year 1719, they carried off 20,000 hogsheads, and that by the year 1733, this navigation employed 300 ships, and near 3000 sailors.

THIS

THIS intercourse, which made the colonies on the continent independent of the English islands for the articles they wanted, excited the murmurs of the planters in the islands. They applied to parliament for the prohibition of a trade which, they alledged, was detrimental both to the mother country and to their prosperity, and beneficial to the progress of the French settlements. The North Americans replied, that if this market was shut against them, they could neither advance in the clearing of lands, nor carry on their fur trade, nor go on with their fishery, nor consume national manufactures, nor add any thing to the wealth, power, or maritime strength of the mother country.

THIS grand contest, which more or less concerned every Englishman, occasioned a great ferment, and produced many writings, in which party spirit betrayed great animosity. But it is by these means that the nation comes at the knowledge of its true interest. When it was fully instructed, the parliament, to reconcile the views of all the American colonists, confirmed the privilege those on the continent had to trade with the French; but, to favour the islands, they laid a duty on foreign molasses, so as to secure the preference to their own. This duty has often fluctuated. In 1764, the people of the islands petitioned that it might be put at 7 sols, 6 deniers (*e*) per gallon: those of the continent wanted to pay but 3 sols, 9 deniers. (*f*) To satisfy both parties, it was put to 5 sols, 7 deniers and a half. (*g*) It has since been brought down to 1 sol, 10 deniers and a half, (*h*) which is levied equally upon foreign and national molasses. But happily for the English islands, the demand for molasses and rum has of late years been so great in North America, and the demand for rum in England,

and

(*e*) About 3*d*. (*f*) Not quite 2*d*. (*g*) Not quite 3*d*. (*h*) About 1*d*.

BOOK and especially in Ireland has increased so much, that
XIV. they have never been at a loss to dispose of these commodities. Such are the connections of the English islands with the northern colonies; they are much greater with the mother country.

THE mother country furnishes them with wearing apparel, utensils and slaves. This is about the twentieth part of what she draws from them. The reason of this disproportion is, that most of the great planters reside in England, and their agents abroad can and do consume but little. Their affairs are managed much in the same manner as those of the nobility in Europe.

A merchant of credit is a kind of steward, who sends over whatever is wanted in the plantations that are under his management. He gives orders to the administrators who are to overlook and direct the cultures. He receives all the produce by the return of the ships. He pays the bills drawn upon him for the purchase of slaves. This commission brings him in the freight, with the interest and reimbursement of the money he has advanced, besides the profit of commission upon the goods bought and sold. His profits are greater than those of the proprietor himself.

IF this method differs from an exclusive privilege, it is at least attended with the same inconveniences; since it throws the whole management of the plantations into the hands of a few privateers, and secures to them the carriage of all the commodities they produce. So that as there is no competition for the freight, it can always be kept up at the same price, which runs very high.

THAT kind of monopoly which some merchants exercise in the English islands, is practised by the capital of the mother country, with regard to the provinces. It is to London that most of the produce of the colonies is sent.

seat. It is in London that most of the owners of this ^{BOOK} produce reside. It is in London that the profit arising ^{XIV.} from it is spent. The rest of the nation is but very indirectly concerned in it.

BUT London is the finest port in England. It is here that ships are built, and manufactures carried on. London furnishes seamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It stands in a temperate, fruitful, and central county. Every thing has a free passage in and out of it. It may be truly said to be the heart of the body politic from its local situation. It is not of an enormous size, though, like all other capitals, it is rather too large; it is not a head of clay, that wants to domineer over a colossus of gold. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only incumber and oppress a laborious people. It is the resort of all the merchants; the seat of the national assembly. There the king's palace is neither vast nor empty. He reigns in it by his enlivening presence. There the senate dictates the laws, agreeable to the sense of the people it represents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the ministry. London has not arrived to its present greatness by the influence of government, which strains and over-rules all natural causes; but by the ordinary impulse of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the sea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

THE history of the colonies of the American Archipelago ^{Summary} cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the ^{of the} riches with which Europe is supplied by them. This is the ^{riches that} great object of commerce in our days, and hence the Lee- ^{Europe} ward islands will ever hold a distinguished place in the ^{draws from} annals of nations; since in fact, riches are the spring of all the ^{the Ameri-} great revolutions that disturb the earth. The colonies of Asia ^{can islands.}

B O O K Minor occasioned both the splendour and the downfall of
XIV. Greece. Rome, which at first desired to subdue nations

only to govern them, fell from her greatness, when she acquired the possession of the treasures of the east. War seemed to slumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a new world; and has since been so often renewed in the former merely to divide the spoils of the latter. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wise men, makes no noise in the world. History therefore can only treat of massacres or riches.

THE riches of the Spanish islands cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. The reason is this. Several kinds of commodities are usually brought thither from the continent, which are confounded with the productions of the Spanish leeward islands. Yet we may not, perhaps, be wide of the truth; if we compute the commodities which Spain annually draws from her islands at ten millions of livres.(i)

THE produce of the Danish colonies is not above seven millions.(k) They employ 70 ships, and 1500 sailors. These settlements receive in slaves and merchandise, 1,500,000 livres.(l) The charges of exportation and importation may be valued at 900,000 livres,(m) and the duties and insurances at ten *per cent*. All expences deducted, the Danish islands must enjoy a clear income of about three millions and a half.(n)

THE Dutch may receive from their settlements, commodities to the value of twenty-four millions of livres.(o) They are brought over to Holland by 150 ships and 4000 sailors. The charges of this navigation must amount to three millions and a half of livres;(p) the duties, commission

(i) 437,500*l*. (k) 306,250*l*. (l) 65,625*l*. (m) 39,375*l*.
 (n) 153,125*l*. (o) 1,050,000*l*. (p) 153,125*l*

million and insurance, to two millions and a half; (q) the goods and slaves sent over, to six millions. (r) There remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions. (s)

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THE produce of the English islands, which employs 600 ships and 12,000 sailors, may be estimated at sixty-six millions of livres. (t) Independent of what the mother country sends to Jamaica for her contraband trade with the continent, she furnishes to the value of seventeen millions, (u) in slaves and merchandise, for the use of her colonies: The profits of the agents for this trade, the charges of navigation, duties and commission put together, cannot fall far short of sixteen millions. (w) From this calculation, the clear income of the owners of the plantations will appear to be thirty-three millions. (x)

WE shall not be apprehensive of being accused of overrating the produce of the French islands, when we reckon it at one hundred million of livres. (y) Six hundred ships, and 18,000 sailors are employed in the transport. France sells to these great settlements, in slaves, in the growth of her own soil or the fruits of her own industry, and in Portugal gold, to the value of sixty millions. (z) The profit of her merchants, only at ten *per cent.* must be six millions. (a) The charges of navigation at least fifteen; (b) and the duties, insurance and commission no less than seven. (c) There only remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions. (d) The contrast is striking between this trifling balance and that of the other islands, and will appear more so, if we consider that in the latter, four out of five of the planters do not reside, whereas in the French colonies, nine out of ten of the proprietors live constantly upon the spot.

N n 2

THE

(q) 109,375*l.* (r) 262,500*l.* (s) 525,000*l.* (t) 2,887,500*l.*
(u) 743,750*l.* (w) 700,000*l.* (x) 1,443,750*l.* (y) 4,375,000*l.*
(z) 2,625,000*l.* (a) 262,500*l.* (b) 656,250*l.* (c) 306,250*l.*
(d) 525,000*l.*

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THE result of this valuation is, that the productions of the great Archipelago of America, when brought into Europe, are worth two hundred and seven millions of livres. (e) It is not a gift that the new world makes to the old. The nations which receive this important fruit of the labour of their subjects settled in another hemisphere, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themselves, the choicest produce of their soil and of their manufactures. Some consume the whole of what they draw from their islands; others, and especially France, make the overplus the basis of a prosperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is possessed of property in America, if it is truly industrious, gains still less by the number of subjects it maintains abroad without any expence, than by the population which those procure it at home. To feed a colony in America, it is necessary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional culture increases the inward strength and real wealth of the nation. In a word, at this present time, the trade of the whole world is connected with that of the colonies.

THE labours of the people settled in those islands, are the sole basis of the African trade, they extend the fisheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Asia, and double, perhaps, treble the activity of all Europe. They may be considered as the principal cause of the rapid motion which now agitates our globe. This ferment must increase, as the culture of the islands draws nearer to perfection, and it has not yet attained to half the prosperity it is capable of.

NOTHING would be more likely to hasten that happy period, than to give up the exclusive trade, which every nation

(e) 9,056,250*l*.

tion has reserved to itself in its own colonies. An un-^{BOOK}limited freedom to trade with all the islands, would be^{XIV.} productive of the greatest efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inspired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that sacred fire, have ever wished to see a direct communication opened between all the ports of Europe and America. The several governments, almost all corrupt in their origin, and strangers to this principle of universal benevolence, have imagined that societies mostly founded on the separate interest of each nation, or of one single individual, ought to be formed in order to restrain all the connections of every colony to its respective mother country. The opinion is, that these restraining laws secure to each commercial nation in Europe the sale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring such foreign commodities as it might stand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

THIS system, which was long thought to be the best, has been vigorously opposed, when the theory of commerce had once shaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alledged, that no nation can supply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get some articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes for America. From this necessity arises at least an indirect communication of all nations with those distant possessions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its destination in a direct line, than by the indirect way of bartering? It would be attended with less expence; would promote both culture and consumption, and bring an increase of revenue to the public treasury: a thousand advantages would accrue to the mother countries, which

B O O K would make them full amends for the exclusive right they
XIV. all claim, to their mutual detriment.

THESE maxims are true, solid, and useful, but they will not be adopted. The reason is this. A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe, and is too far advanced not to be accomplished. Every government is endeavouring to do without the assistance of foreign industry. Most of them have already succeeded, and the rest will not be long before they shake off this dependence. Already the English and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, see their master-pieces of workmanship refused on all sides. Will these two nations, which are at the same time the greatest planters of the islands, go and open their ports to those who force them, as it were, to shut up their manufactures at home? The more they lose in the foreign markets, the less they will consent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather strive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater supply of American productions. It is by these returns that they will preserve their advantage in the balance of trade, and they need not fear that the plenty of these productions should lower their value. The progress of industry in our continent, must increase population and wealth, and of course the consumption and value of American productions.

What will
be the fate
of the
American
islands
hereafter.

BUT whether the American islands, with the settlements that make them so flourishing, will always remain in the hands of their original possessors, whether they will change masters; or, in case of a revolution, into whose hands they will fall, and by what means, these are questions that afford much room for speculation and conjecture, which may be assisted by the following reflections.

THE

THE islands depend totally upon Europe for a supply of all their wants. Those which only respect wearing apparel and implements of husbandry will admit of delay, but the least disappointment with regard to provisions, spreads a general alarm, and causes universal desolation, which rather tempts the people to wish for than fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common saying in the colonies, that they shall never fail to capitulate with a Squadron stored with barrels of flour instead of gun-powder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own subsistence, we defeat the very end of these settlements, without any real advantage. The mother-country would deprive herself of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preserve them from invasion.

In vain should we hope to oppose an enemy by the help of negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy stifles the seeds of courage; and who are still more enervated by slavery, and therefore but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. As to the white men, dispersed in extensive plantations, they are so few, that they could make but little resistance. It is even a question whether they would repulse an invasion if they could.

ALL the colonists hold it as a maxim, that their islands are to be considered as those great cities in Europe, which lying open to the first comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a siege, and almost without being sensible of the war. The strongest is their master. The inhabitants cry out with the Italians, *God save the conqueror*; passing and repassing from one yoke to another in the course of a campaign. Whether at the peace, the city returns to its old master, or remains in the hands of the victor, it has lost nothing of its splendor; whilst fortified towns are always depopulated and reduced to a heap

BOOK of ruins. Indeed, there is hardly one inhabitant in the
XIV. American islands who does not think it a folly to expose his
 fortune for the sake of his country. This greedy calculator:
 is little concerned whose laws he obeys, if his crops are but
 left standing. It is to enrich himself that he has crossed
 the seas. If he preserves his treasures, his purpose is an-
 swered. Can the mother-country that forsakes him, too
 often after tyrannizing over him, that is ready to give him
 up, or, perhaps, to sell him at the conclusion of a peace, have
 any claim to the sacrifice of his life. It is no doubt a glori-
 ous thing to die for one's country. But a state, where the
 prosperity of the nation is sacrificed to forms of government;
 where the art of cheating men is the art of training up
 subjects; where they will have slaves and not citizens;
 where war is declared and peace concluded, without con-
 sulting the opinion or the wishes of the people; where evil
 designs are always countenanced by the intrigues of de-
 bauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where use-
 ful plans are only adopted with such clogs as make them
 impracticable: is this the country for which we should sa-
 crifice our blood?

THE fortifications erected for the defence of the co-
 lonies, will secure them no better than the arms of the
 inhabitants. Even if they were stronger, and better
 guarded and stored than they have ever been, they must
 always surrender unless they are succoured. Should the
 resistance hold out above six months, that would not dis-
 courage the besiegers, who being within reach of a con-
 stant supply of refreshments both by land and by sea,
 can better endure the severity of the climate, than a gar-
 rison can resist the duration of a siege.

THERE is no other way to preserve the colonies but by
 a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours
 of Europe that the bastions and ramparts of the American
 colonies

colonies must be raised. Whilst the mother country ^{BOOK XIV.} shelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ships, so long as she shall fill up with her fleets the vast interval that separates her from these daughters of her industry and power, her parental watchfulness for their prosperity will secure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally directs its attention to the securing of the frontiers of states by fortified towns; but for maritime powers; there ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the center, and ships all round. A commercial island, indeed, wants no fortified town. Her rampart is the sea, which constitutes her safety, her subsistence, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conspire to promote her glory.

In this respect, England may undertake any enterprize, and expect every kind of success. She is now the only power that can confide in her possessions in America, and that is able to attack the colonies of her rivals. Perhaps, it will not be long ere she follows the dictates of her courage. The pride of past success; the very restlessness inseparable from prosperity; the burden of conquests, which seem to be the punishment of victory: all these are so many incentives to war. The English are crushed under the weight of their undertakings and their national debt; their manufactures are falling; every day they lose some branch of trade; they cannot appease the ferment of the northern colonies, but by opening new marts for their productions. The notions they have conceived of their own valour, and the terror of their arms abroad, would wear off by a long peace; their fleets would consume in idleness; their admirals would lose the benefit of past experience. All these reflections are warrantable motives for a nation that has

BOOK XIV. **XIV.** has waged war before it was declared, and pretends to the dominion of all America, by the same right that places a despotic prince at the head of a nation. The first spark will kindle in America, and the storm will directly fall upon the French islands; because the rest, except the Havannah, will voluntarily submit to the yoke.

THE French should, therefore, first prepare for the defence of America. If it can be defended, they alone can effect it, for the Dutch are of no consequence now, and Spain has suffered all her natural powers to remain inactive, and has put the means of her strength into the hands of other nations. At this time, therefore, France alone is able to raise a formidable navy. Philosophers of all nations, friends of mankind, forgive a French writer if he urges his countrymen to build ships. He has in view the tranquillity of the earth, when he wishes to see that equilibrium established in the dominion of the seas, which now preserves the safety of the continent.

FRANCE, almost in the center of Europe, and placed between the Ocean and Mediterranean, unites the strength of land forces to the advantages of a maritime power. She can convey all her productions from one sea to the other, without passing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or the insulting flag of the states of Barbary. A channel, preferable to the Pactolus, pours the rich produce of her fairest provinces into both seas, and the treasures of both seas into her choicest provinces. No navigating nation has the advantage of so speedy a communication between her several ports by land, or between her several lands by her ports. She is within reach of Spain and Portugal, which know not how to provide for their own sustenance, and within reach of the Turks and Africans, whose trade is merely passive. Her moderate climate procures her the inestimable advantage, almost peculiar

peculiar to herself, of sending out and receiving her ships at all seasons of the year. Her roads are so deep, that she can give her ships the properest form, both for swiftness and safety. BOOK
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SHE is in no want of commodities for exportation, Her wines and brandies are disposed of in America and in the north of Europe. How many nations buy up her salt, her oil, her soap, her fruit, and even her corn. There is a great demand for the produce of her colonies. But it is chiefly by her manufactures, her silks, and her fashions, that she regulates the taste of all nations. Notwithstanding all the endeavours used to oppose this prevailing passion, Europe is fascinated, and will never give up the point. This phrenzy has found its way to England, where the legislators themselves, whilst they enact laws to prevent it, are the first to break them. In vain, to save the heavy duties on our manufactured goods, have others tried to imitate them. The fruitfulness of invention will ever prevent the readiest imitation; our light fancy will always be too quick for our neighbours, and our inventive genius will be contriving new fashions, while our old ones are still in their looms. What should we not expect from our navigation, when we are thus able to supply other nations with whatever can feed their vanity, their luxury, and their voluptuousness?

No obstacle arising from the nature of things could stop this activity. France, great enough not to be obstructed by the surrounding powers, and so happily limited as not to sink under the weight of her own greatness, France has in her own hands all the means of attaining to that power by sea which would complete her prosperity. A numerous population, fit for any enterprize, only wants encouragement to be directed to the sea-service. Even the reproach that is made to the French for having more sailors

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sailors on board their ships than other nations, is itself a proof that there are men enough for the art, if they were but properly instructed in it. Yet no nation has been endowed by nature with more of that lively genius which is fit for the improvement of ship building, or of that bodily dexterity which can save time and expence in the manœuvre, by the simplicity and celerity of the means made use of.

It is in the merchant service that a nation learns to be formidable at sea. All sailors are naturally soldiers. They daily face the dangers of death ; they are inured to the fatigues of labour, and the injurious effects of climates. A military marine can only be trained up by service at sea. The trading navy is the school, and commerce the nursery and support of it. In vain would the royal treasury of a court that has never seen the sea or a ship, fit out fleets ; the ocean scorns those effeminate and cringing beings who stoop and bend before other men. Such commanders would require no other assistance from the winds than to help them in their flight. Let them remain in the capital, and leave the command of men of war to the masters of privateers ; or rather, let the nobility, if ever they mean to be commanders at sea, turn merchants, and go themselves on board their own trading ships, before they presume to make interest for posts in the royal navy.

MODERN states have no other way to aggrandize themselves but by maritime power. Since a kind of luxury unknown to the ancients, has infected Europe with a multitude of new tastes, those nations which can furnish the rest with the means of gratifying them, must become the most considerable ; because, by exerting their powers in the perils of navigation and the labours of trade, they keep their neighbours in inaction and sensuality ; they keep those very people whom they pay for carrying on war
in

in subjection, and dependent on their industry, with BOOK
XIV.
 the very money they have drained them of by luxury. It is since that revolution, which hath, as it were, submitted the earth to the sea, that the great strokes of state have been struck on the ocean. Richelieu had not perceived this to be near at hand, when to keep out the English from Rochelle, he almost cut off all communication between the town and the sea. Ships would have been better than a dike; but the navy had no share in his system of enslaving France, in order to rule over Europe. The monarch, to whose greatness he had been paving the way, imagined as he did, that that greatness consisted only in the art of conquering. After having stirred up the whole continent of Europe by his enterprizes, he was obliged to keep numberless armies in pay to withstand that league. His kingdom soon became, as it were, one great camp, and his frontiers a mere hedge of fortified towns. Under that brilliant reign, the springs of the state were constantly overstretched; the government, restless and uneasy by its own vigour, escaped from one danger only to fall into another. The want of a standing navy was never felt till the finances were almost too much exhausted to raise it.

EVER since the end of that century, in which the people supported, at least, under their misfortunes by the remembrance of past successes, still dazzled Europe with the prospect of forty years of glory, were attached to the government that had raised them to such a pitch of honour, and bad defiance to the rivals they had humbled; ever since that period, the prosperity of France has always been upon the decline, notwithstanding the acquisitions that have enlarged her territories. She would not have been enervated by twenty years peace, had she employed those powers in the improvement of her navy, which had been too long wasted in a continental war.

But

BOOK But her marine has never been put upon a respectable footing. The avarice of one ministry, the prodigality of another, the indolence of many, little selfish views, court intrigues that guide the government, a series of vices and errors, a multitude of obscure and despicable causes have prevented the nation from becoming as great at sea as she had been on the continent, and at least from maintaining the balance of power, if not contending for the superiority. The evil is incurable, if the misfortunes she has sustained in the late war, and the hard terms she has submitted to at the peace, have not inspired her rulers with the spirit of wisdom, and attracted all their projects and all their efforts towards establishing a formidable navy.

XIV. EUROPE waits impatiently for this revolution. She will never think her liberties secure, till she sees a flag upon the ocean that does not tremble before the British standard: That of France is now the only one which may in time aspire to that competition. The wishes of all nations are now united for the prosperity of that power which shall be able to defend them from one that can alone pretend to the universal empire of the seas. The system of equilibrium requires that France should augment her naval powers, more especially as she cannot effect this without diminishing her land forces. Then her influence, divided between both elements, will be formidable to none but such as would disturb its harmony. The nation itself requires nothing more to compass this great end, than to be at liberty to aspire to it. The government must allow the people to exert themselves. But, if authority contracts the powers and freedom of industry, by obstructing it more and more with taxes and restraints; if it damps its vigour by endeavouring to force it; if in drawing all to itself, it falls into a dependence on subalterns;

alterns; if in order to go to America or India, we must pass through the intricate windings of the capital or the court; if some minister, already great and powerful, will not immortalize his name, by delivering the colonies from the yoke of a military government, by alleviating the oppression of the customs upon commerce, by opening the roads for those who are brought up in the merchant service, to honours as well as to the service of the royal navy: in short, if there is not a total change, inevitable ruin must ensue.

FRANCE has committed great mistakes, and made many hard sacrifices. It is doubtful whether the riches she has preserved in the islands of America are an equivalent to the strength she has lost on the continent of that vast country. It is in the north that a fresh revolution is preparing in the new world. That is to be the seat of our wars. There let us explore the secret of our future destiny.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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